

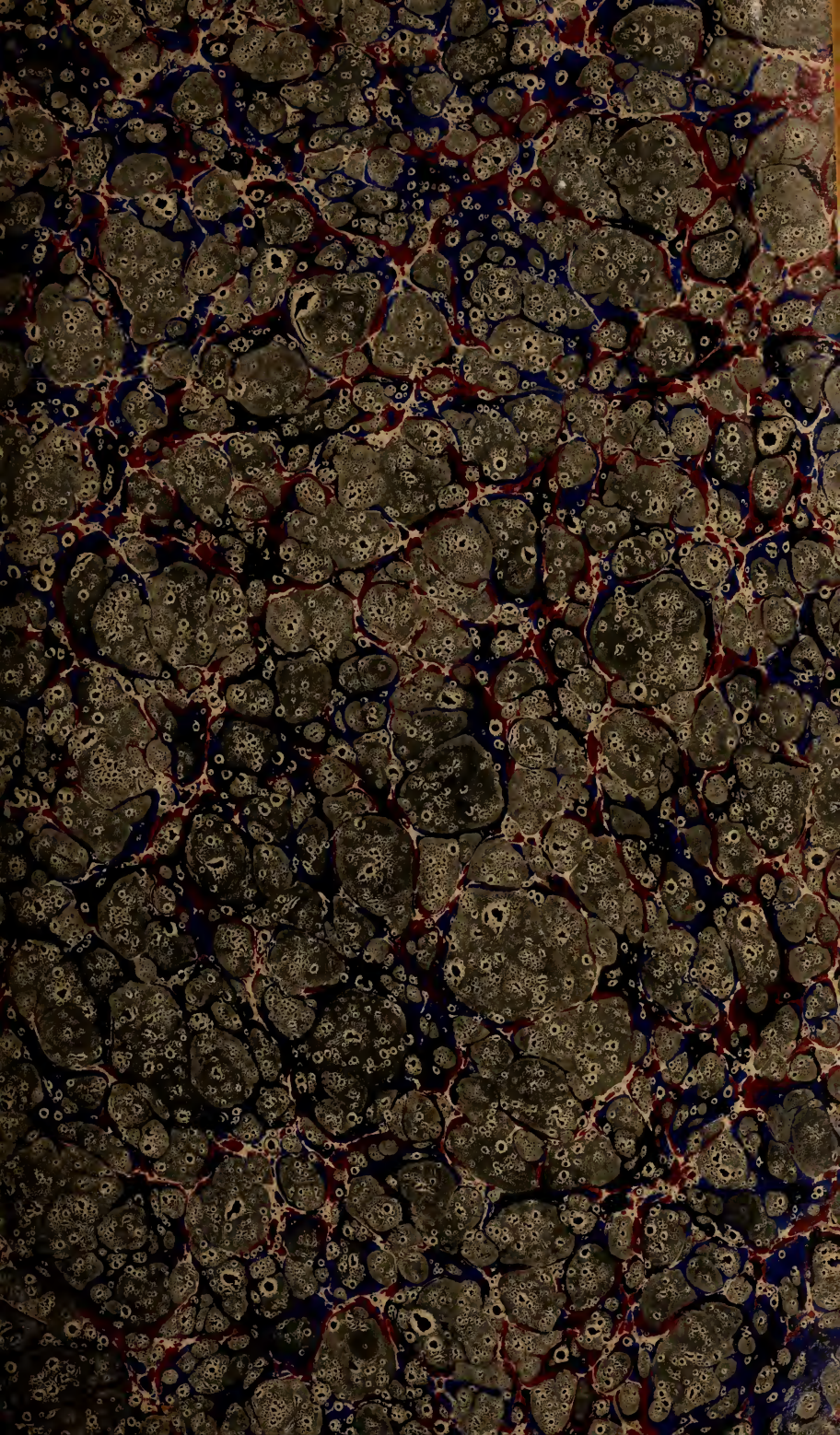
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Sam. Lewis M.D.

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THE  
*Rush-Light.*

15th FEB. 1800.

CONTAINING

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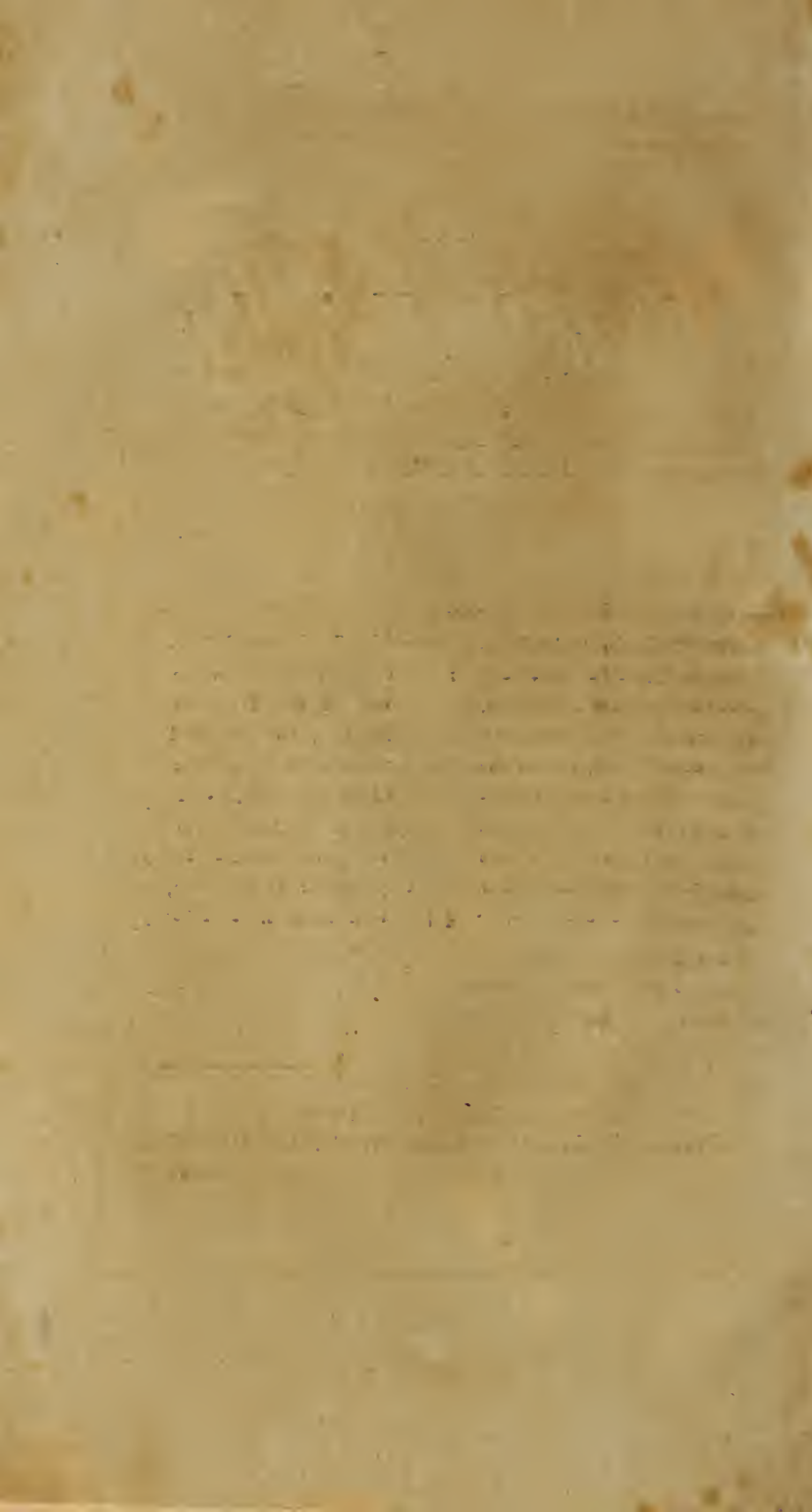
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BY PETER PORCUPINE.

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THE  
*Rush-Light.*

15th FEB. 1800.

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BEING THE FIRST NUMBER OF VOLUME I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN I determined to discontinue the publication of *Porcupine's Gazette*, I intended to remain, for the future, if not an unconcerned, at least, a silent spectator of public transactions and political events; but, the unexpected and sweeping result of a law suit, since decided against me, has induced me to abandon my lounging intention. The suit, to which I allude, was an action of slander, commenced against me in the Autumn of 1797, by Doctor Benjamin Rush, the noted bleeding physician of Philadelphia; it was tried on the 14th of December last, when "the upright, enlightened, and impartial republican jury" assessed, as damages, *five thousand dollars*; a sum surpassing the aggregate amount of all the damages, assessed for all the torts of this kind, ever sued for in these States, from their first settlement to the present day. To the five thousand dollars must be added, the costs of

A suit

suit, the loss incurred by the interruption in collecting debts in Pennsylvania, and by the sacrifice of property taken in execution, and sold by the sheriff at public auction in Philadelphia, where a great number of books in sheets (among which was a part of the new edition of Porcupine's Works) were sold, or rather given away, as waste paper; so that, the total of what has been, and will be, wrested from me by Rush, will fall little short of *eight thousand dollars*.

To say that I do not feel this stroke, and very sensibly too, would be great affectation; but, to repine at it would be folly, and to sink under it would be cowardice. I knew an Englishman in the Royal Province of New Brunswick, who had a very valuable house, which was, I believe, at that time, nearly his all, burnt to the ground. He was out of town when the fire broke out, and happened to come home just after it had exhausted itself. Every one, knowing how hard he had earned the property, expected to see him bitterly bewail its loss. He came very leisurely up to the spot, stood about five minutes looking steadily at the rubbish, and then, stripping off his coat, "*here goes,*" said he, "*to earn another!*" and immediately went to work, raking the spikes and bits of iron out of the ashes. This noble spirited man I have the honour to call my friend, and if ever this page should meet his eye, he will have the satisfaction to see, that, should it be impossible for me to follow, I, at least, remember his example.

IN the future exertions of my industry, however, pecuniary emolument will be, as it always has been with me, an object of only secondary consideration. Recent incidents, amongst which I reckon the unprecedented proceedings against me at Philadelphia, have imposed on me the discharge of a duty, which I owe to my own country as well as this, and the sooner I begin the sooner I shall have done.

ON Monday, the 24th instant, therefore, I shall publish the first number of a *periodical work*, which, as it is intended to assist the publick view, in the inspecting of various tenebrious objects, will be called, and not, I presume, improperly, a *Light*; and, as the appearance of this light must be attributed wholly to the Philadelphian phlebotomist, gratitude will sanction the propriety of prefixing to it the name of *Rush*. Thus, while the great literary luminaries of this enlightened nation emit their effulgence through vehicles which they most significantly term the *Aurora*, the *Star*, the *Constellation*, the *Comet*, or the *Sun*, I am content that my glimmering efforts should steal forth under the appellation of the

## Rush-Light.

I must, nevertheless, do myself the justice to assure the publick, that, with the *Rush-Light* in his hand, any one (if the poor soul be not stone blind)

blind) will be able to see a good many very pretty things, which, notwithstanding the splendor of the grand luminaries above mentioned, would, without the aid of my little taper, remain hidden from him all the days of his life.

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RUSH AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

IF *Variety* have all the charms that it is said to possess, I am afraid that the life I lead must excite no small degree of envy; for, of all the mortals occupied in the use of the pen, surely no one ever treated of subjects so various and so opposite in their natures. Yesterday I finished the *History of the Italian Campaign*; to-day, I am beginning that of *Rush and his supporters*. When I contemplate on this transition; when I view myself descending from the glorious deeds of the princely Suworow, to record the low tricks of an ignoble herd of Philadelphians, I remind myself of Swift's indiscriminating fly, which, after having sipped the nectar from the rose and the carnation, "drops down and finishes its meal upon an excrement."

I must, however, declare, that, neither fickleness, a want of discrimination, nor a propensity to dabble in filth, has produced this disagreeable change in my labours. The loathsome subject, now before me, is not taken up, from choice, but from a sense of duty. I am actuated by neither malice nor revenge; but, in holding up, in their true light,  
the

the *Rushes*, the *Hopkinsons*, the *Meases*, and the rest of the tribe, I look upon myself as acting in the capacity of a public executioner, who, while he performs the dreadful behests of justice, secretly bewails the ignominious fate of the sufferer.

SUCH are the sentiments under which I have resolved to expose the conduct of Rush, and that of the Witnessess, the Lawyers, the Judges, and the Jury, concerned in the cause lately decided against me at Philadelphia. Were my design to defend my own character, or to blast forever that of my enemies, a few pages might suffice; but, my views are less selfish, and extend to far greater utility. This cause, in its commencement, its progress, and its result, furnishes a series of facts, of which, justice to the rest of America, justice to foreign nations, and particularly to the deceived and infatuated in my native country, demand an ample exposure. The undertaking, is, besides, called for by the insidious attempts of Rush and his "fellow citizens." They have published a "*report*" of the trial, not badly calculated to justify themselves and to deceive the world. They call it an *important* trial, and I shall certainly endeavour to make it so in its effects, to which end I shall go into as full a discussion of the several parts of the subject as the little time, which I am necessarily confined to, will admit of, arranging my matter under the following heads: 1. A sketch of Rush's birth, and his moral and literary character; 2. An account of his practice and of my inducements to attack it, with a defence of the pub-  
lications

lications for which I was sued; 3. Remarks on the base insinuations of Rush's lawyers against the British government, with a narrative of the juridical proceedings, a comparison between the severity dealt to me and the lenity shown to printers who are not *British subjects*, or who profess *no allegiance to the King of Great Britain*, and an account of the *redress I have met with* from the laws of Pennsylvania.

*Birth and Character of Rush.*

HAD Rush's pleaders confined themselves to the only subject that ought to have been submitted to the deliberations of the jury; had they not, in numerous instances, gone out of their way to extol the *family and character* of their client and to traduce and vilify mine; had they not held him up as an "*Hippocrates*" and a "*saving angel*," while they represented me as a "*wretch cast up from the very dregs and slime of the community, that ought to have rotted in obscurity*;" had they not thus insolently (and I may add foolishly) provoked an inquiry, the family and character of Rush would have remained, with me, objects of as perfect insignificance as is the poverty-bred plant, the name of which he bears, and the worthlessness of which is proverbial.

No herald, reader, proclaimed the birth of the Pennsylvanian "*Hippocrates*." The "*saving angel*" was born (and, I believe, in the usual way) in the city of Philadelphia. His father, honest  
John,

John, was, I am sorry to say it, of English extraction, and was, by calling, a Blacksmith. Of his mother (who had another son, and two daughters) I have heard nothing, except that she kept a huckster's shop, or stall, and was a very kind and pious Presbyterian, who, recollecting, I suppose, the Apostle's remark respecting the salubrity of wine to the stomach, occasionally administered to the comfort of her fellow creatures by retailing drams. The reader will, I dare say, gladly excuse me from going any further back in the pedigree; but I cannot dismiss the subject without observing, that the Doctor was not *quite* just to his family, when he was "ready to say, and almost *without a figure*, to *corruption* thou art my *father*, and to "the *worm*, thou art my *mother* and my *sister*.\*"

HAVING long ago given, and not without some pride, an account of my own humble origin, it cannot be supposed, that I have turned Biographer to the Doctor for the sake of degrading his character. In fact, these family memoirs were furnished me by a great admirer of Rush, the late Doctor Capel of Wilmington, who produced them as clear proofs of his friend's native genius and indefatigable application; and while I leave undisputed the justness of Capel's conclusion, I only beg leave to remark, that the parentage  
of

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\* See a work by Rush, entitled a *narrative* of the state of the author's *body* and *mind*, during the Yellow Fever of 1793, which work, if the reader has an inclination to see a specimen of the most disgusting egotism that ever soiled paper, I would recommend him to purchase.

of Rush (without saying a word about "*corruption* and the "*worm*" "*almost without a figure*") was not extremely well calculated for sending him into the world with that independence of mind, which, among persons of low birth, is certainly the best foundation whereon to raise a character, conspicuous for sincerity, candour, integrity, and magnanimity.

RUSH is remarkable for insinuating manners, and for that smoothness and softness of tongue, which the mock-quality call *politeness*, but which the profane vulgar call *blarney*. To see and hear him, you would think he was all friendship and humanity. He shakes hands with all he meets; every one is his *dear friend*, all the people his *dear fellow citizens*, and all the creation his *dear fellow creatures*. The lamp of his philanthropy is constantly burning, and it burns with equal brightness, whether whites, yellows or blacks are the objects of his affection. He certainly is not the first moralist, who has observed, that bluntness is no recommendation with the rich; but, he is (as far as I know at least) the first physician that ever thought of making a propensity to be praised, in the patient, conducive to the aid of his medicines. One of his pupils told me, that his preceptor prided himself much upon this discovery. "Give your patients," used he to say, "a good *strong dose of praise*, to compose their minds; for, without that, you may as well hope to succeed, as Miss Willing may hope to get to Heaven by listening to the organs of St. Paul's Church."



IF making fair weather with men of all religions and all parties be a proof of merit, I know of no person so meritorious as Rush. He has, alternately, appeared to be a *Presbyterian*, a *Quaker*, an *Episcopalian*, and a *Methodist*. He is intimate with all the Clergy, from *Bishop WHITE* down to the *BLACK Bishop!* I have often admired the ingenuity, with which, in his account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, he pays his court, at one and the same time, to people of all sects, ranks, and colours. There is one sentence, in particular, of this work, for which he deserves to be immortalized. He is speaking about the opinion that prevailed respecting the danger of congregations meeting on *Sundays*, and knowing the Quakers to have a whimsical objection to the name, by which Christians in general call that day of the week, he makes a fair compromise betwixt them and the other sects, and, in the very same sentence, calls it *Sunday* and *First-day!*

“ He distributes his liquors all palates to please ;

“ To some gives the wine, and to others the lees,

“ And lest that his customers quarrel and box,

“ Gives the wine to the *Pope*, and the lees to *George Fox* .”;

BUT the most striking proof of his talent at “ composing the mind ;” as he calls it, is, his prevailing on *Mr. Adams* to give him that lucrative sinecure the *treasurership of the mint*, while it was well known, that he was the intimate of *Jefferson*, and that he was amongst the few *trusty friends*, mentioned to *Logan*, in the memorable correspondence, which *Munro*, from motives of

prudence, carried on under the signature of a *Young man at Paris*.

SOME persons have, however, notwithstanding this pleasing talent in the Doctor, ventured to call his *sincerity* in question. *Mr. Smyth*, a British officer, who, though a prisoner of war, was most inhumanly treated in the prison of the philanthropick city of Philadelphia, tells us that, during his imprisonment, he was visited by *Doctor Benjamin Rush*, who, it would seem, was then a member of Congress. He says that this Rush flattered him with the hope of an exchange or parole, and gave him *strong "assurances of very great regard and commiseration;"* but, he tells us, in the same page, that this *Dr. Rush* was in nothing so eminent as in "**UNFULFILLED POSSESSIONS.**"\*

As

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\* **SMYTH'S TOUR** in the the U. States, vol. 2. p. 296. If this be a *libel* I beg the dram-seller's son to go and sue the Philadelphia Library company; for, it was from their collection that I got the book, out of which the quotations are made.--Apropos: --This book, when I saw it, exhibited a complete specimen of *Philadelphian liberality and good breeding*. It may be readily supposed, that *Mr. Smyth* has divulged some bitter truths; these, as they have passed through the hands of the readers, have called forth all that malice, that sneaking cowardly revenge, for which the Philadelphians are so famous. Each reader seemed to me to have sitten with a *pen* in his hand: the work was disfigured from one end to the other. In some places words were effaced, in others sentences, and in others whole paragraphs. Where the offensive matter was not obliterated, it was commented on, in the margin, in language the most abusive and obscene, and expressive of sentiments the most detestable. Whenever the name of the King was made use of, the word *King* was effaced, and  
tyran.

As to the Doctor's *mildness* and *candour*, so boldly insisted on by his pleaders, and so *complaisantly* assented to by my good *Mr. Harper*, a few facts, fresh in the memory of every Philadelphian, will afford a most satisfactory illustration.

RUSH called *Doctor Wistar* an *assassin*, because *Wistar* denied the virtue of his grand specific, the *mercurial purges*. I have this fact from *Doctor Glentworth*, a native Philadelphian, a staunch republican, in the best sense of the word

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tyrant written over it. The names of his Majesty's faithful subjects were made to give place to *traitor*, *rebel*, *miscreant*, &c. &c. The author was frequently called a *scoundrel* and a *liar*, and, sometimes, a "*damned liar*," at full length; and, when mention was made of the barbarous treatment of a royalist, the comment generally was, "*it is pity they had not used him worse*." Nay, the description of sufferings enough to soften the heart of a tyger, even the very pangs of the dying, drew forth from the Philanthropick Philadelphian readers, the comments of, "*bravo!*" or of, "*ah! a, a, a, a, a, a, a!*"

TALK of the *French* indeed! I defy any one to produce me, even from the annals of the *grande republique*, a proof of blackness of heart equal to that which I have here portrayed. The patriots of Republican France have waded in blood; but they have, at the same time, shown, that they can venture their own lives; whereas the Philadelphian commentators discover that sort of cowardly cruelty which would lead to the cutting of the throat of an infant sleeping in its cradle.

NOR were these comments the work of the *Swinish Multitude*. It is well known, that the poor sovereign people seldom sets his eyes on any book belonging to the Philadelphian Library; but, be that as it may, I aver, that all the comments, of which I have spoken above, appeared to be written by men of some learning. I observed but very

word, and a very candid, honest and brave man. Doctor Glentworth told me, besides (and he will tell the same to any one), that Rush attended him in the yellow fever of 1793; that he bled him till he was extremely weak, and ordered *several other bleedings* which Glentworth's knowledge made him omit, without, however, telling Rush of the omission; that he came one day, and finding his patient sitting up in the bed, ran to him, squeezed him by the hand, called him his "*dear Glentworth,*" and congratulated him on the salutary effects of his bleeding system; "but," said he, "*my dear friend, you must lose a little MORE BLOOD.*"—"Lose *more blood!*" replied Glentworth, "when I am so faint I can hardly support myself!"—Upon this, Rush started from the bed-side, caught up his hat, called his "*dear friend*" an *assassin*, told him he was leagued with Wistar to ruin his reputation, and ran down stairs bawling out: "you're a dead man! you're a dead man! you'll be buried before to-morrow night!"

THERE was an instance of *mildness, candour, and humanity!* Doctor Glentworth did, however, disappoint him. He recovered his health, with-  
out

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very few grammatical errors, and the hand writing no where bore the appearance of vulgarity.

To judge of the disposition, and manners of the "*well-born*" amongst the Philadelphians there cannot, I think, be found a surer standard than the comments on Smyth; and, if what I have stated be false, or incorrect, the librarian has it in his power to contradict me. 'Till he does it, and circumstantially too; the philanthropick city may depend on it I shall be believed.

out losing more blood, and lived to laugh very heartily at the charitable predictions of the *Pennsylvanian* “*Hippocrates*.”\*

RUSH, in his account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, accuses *Doctors Khun, Stevens*, and others, of having “*slain more than the sword*,” merely because they rejected his practice. Nor does he, when speaking of his opponents, confine his charges to their *practice*; but in the excess of his *mildness* and *candour*, attacks their *motives*. He says, that “it requires an uncommon portion of charity, to ascribe their conduct to *humane and benevolent motives* ;” which is, to say the least of it, a very broad insinuation, that they were actuated by motives both *selfish* and *cruel*. This is the *inoffensive* candid gentleman, who, Ingersol told the jury, treated his brethren with *respect* and *tenderness* !

So intolerant was he, and is yet, towards those who would not, or will not, acknowledge the infallibility of his system of bleeding and mercurial purges, that he has, since 1793, refused to consult with any physician who has not been weak enough to adopt his practice. Mr. Chancellor having called him in to consult with Doctor Hodge, he told Chancellor that he had better  
dismiss

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\* I HAVE made use of Doctor Glentworth's *name*, because I know that he fears not the whole tribe of the Rushes together; and because I know also, that, however he may dislike my Royalist politicks, he is a friend to *truth* and *justice*, and will not, therefore, be offended at being called forth in their cause.

dismiss Hodge, for that he was a bark-and-wine Doctor, and would do his patient more harm than good ; and yet this same fellow had afterwards the impudence to threaten to prosecute Doctor Hodge for telling Doctor *Way* (while Rush attended him), that he thought he might recover *without more bleeding* ! Rush, in his account of the yellow fever of 1793, attempts to justify his conduct in refusing to consult with any physician, except those of his own school, on the ground of the *disagreement in opinion* ; but, what a senseless excuse ! If the opinions of all physicians were settled, and were all the same, there could be no use in calling a consultation. In fact, this was no more than a miserable apology for the most insolent pretension to superiority ever set up by mortal man.\*

In the face, however, of these notorious facts, the counsellors of Rush, kept up an incessant bawling

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\* ON the score of *consultation* he is said to have received a most flattering rappartee from *Doctor Khun*. Rush had attended a gentleman for some time, when the patient, finding himself grow worse under the infallible remedies, proposed the calling in of another physician. "With all my heart, my *dear friend*," said Rush ;" upon which the gentleman named Doctor Khun. "No," replied the modest son of Mercury, "I will never consult with Khun !" This insolence was repelled in a proper manner. "If you will not attend with Doctor Khun," said the gentleman, "*be must attend without you*, that is all." A few days afterward Rush, seeing Khun going to his old patient, called out to him :—"He is out of danger already ; I defy you to kill him ! " I defy you to kill him !"—"Why" replied Khun, "after his passing through *your hands*, he may, indeed, safely set death at defiance."

bawling about the *mildness* and *amiableness* of the Doctor's Disposition. "From my soul," said Hopkinson, "I believe him to be amongst the most *unoffending* and *benevolent* of mankind." Ingersol called him a "saving *Angel*." And to all this fulsome, this beastly hyperbole, my counsel, Mr. Harper, cried *Amen!* Hopkinson towards the close of a dozen pages of lies, nonsense and bombast, gave the tender hearted jury a most pitious picture of the distress produced in Rush's family, by my publications against the "*immaculate father*." He throws the wife into the hystericks, makes "a deep wound in her—heart, and "tears, with remorseless rage, all the *sine fibers* "and *delicate sympathies* of *conjugal love*." From the mother, whom I never mentioned in my life till now, he comes to the children, "of *nice feeling* and *generous sensibility*;" The daughters he, of course, sets to weeping; "but manlier passions swell, agitate and enflame the breasts of "HIS SONS.—They burn, they burst with indignation, rage, revenge, drive them headlong to "desperate deeds, accumulating woe on woe. "With difficulty the prudential advice, the parental command of the father restrain their fury—"with difficulty they are prevented from taking "immediate vengeance on their cruel oppressor—"Be patient my children, said he, I am deeply injured, but the laws of my country offer me justice, and point out the road to redress. It is tardy, but it is certain and ample. Delay may be painful to you, but the duties of a good citizen require it." This suit, then, Gentlemen, and "the hope of the justice that you will administer,

" may

“ may have been the guardian angel of the defend-  
 “ dant.

No Philadelphian could be duped by this miserable ranting fiction; but, it would certainly lead a stranger to suppose, that Rush was the most gentle of human beings, and that he actually restrained those young lions, *his sons*, from avenging his wrongs by chastising me. But unfortunately for the reputation of the Rushes, their affair with *Doctor Ross*, which happened a few days after the actions against Mr. Fenno and me were commenced, will clearly mark the character of this “ *immaculate father*,” and of these “ *manly*” these “ *generous*,” these “ *nice-feeling*” sons, and will effectually preclude the necessity of any future eulogiums by Hopkinson and Harper.

AN article appeared in Mr. Fenno’s paper, signed “ *A member of the College of Physicians*,” giving an account of Rush’s pretty tricks during the Yellow Fever of 1793. This article produced a great deal of fun amongst the people, and a great deal of anger amongst the Rushites. It was written by Doctor Hodge, or Doctor Currie, I have forgotten which; but Rush suspected, as the author, Dr. Ross, a Scotch physician of great learning, and considerable eminence in his profession. Vengeance! vengeance! therefore, resounded against Ross, who was immediately attacked in print, with unparalleled brutality, by a subaltern Rushite, named Caldwell. The vile news-paper of Rush’s friend Bradford was the vehicle of this diabolical attack. *Here, indeed*



deed, was a LIBEL! Not only the professional practice and opinions; not only the political sentiments, the national partialities; not only the private character, the manners, and the dress, but the domestic oddities and even the *pecuniary circumstances* of Doctor Ross, were, successively, the theme of this shameless slanderer: nay, the base Rushite did not stop there, Ross's *old age* and even his *bodily infirmities* this wretch made a subject of *ridicule*!

THE article in Fenno's paper for the writing of which this infamous libel was intended as a punishment, contained not a single falshood, nothing that could be called personal, nothing abusive, indecent or uncandid. Besides, Ross was totally innocent of the matter; he knew nothing of the origin of the publication. And even if he had, if he had been *known*, instead of being merely *suspected*, to be the author, and if the matter of the publication had been false and abusive, instead of being, as it was, both true and decent, most assuredly the attack on him in Bradford's paper would have been a retaliation more than saistactory. But, that attack, false, malignant, brutal and inhuman as it was, did not satisfy the "*unoffending*," the "*benevolent*," the "*immaculate*," the "*angelic*" Rush, and his "*generous and nice feeling sons*."

ONE of these "*generous*" gentlemen; *John Rush*, wrote Doctor Ross the following very impertinent note:

" Oct

“Oct. 16, 1797.”

“Sir,

“As you are *universally* believed to be the author of the publication against my father, Dr. Rush, in Mr. Fenno’s paper of the 6th inst. I take this method of *demanding*, whether you are, or are not the author of the said publication. Your silence on the subject will be considered as an acknowledgment of your *guilt*.”

“I am, &c.

“JOHN RUSH.”

Ross returned the note by the bearer, telling him “*that he knew nothing of Mr. Rush or of his father.*” When we consider the insolence of the note, the *demand* of an answer, and the broad imputation of “*guilt*,” and take into view the vast difference in the age and character of the parties, this conduct, on the part of Doctor Ross must be deemed a mark of great *moderation*, not to say *tameness*. But, an indication of this sort was so far from assuaging the wrath, or cooling the courage of the boiling, “*nice-feeling*” youth, that it added to his anger and his resolution, he accordingly wrote Ross another note in the following words.

“Oct. 17, 1797.”

“Sir,

“I once more *demand* an *unequivocal answer* whether you are, or not, the author of the publication against my father, alluded to in my note  
“of

“ of yesterday. My friend Dr. Bullus will wait  
 “ for a decisive answer.

“ I am, &c. &c.

“ JOHN RUSH.”

AFTER having read the contents of this second scrap of insolence, for which the author merited a horse-whip; Ross asked the bearer what the “*impertinent puppy*” kept teasing him for. He could not help, however, giving a fresh proof of his timidity by sending the “*impertinent puppy*” a written answer, which he did, as follows.

“ Sir,

“ Oct. 17, 1797.”

“ I don't understand why you take the liberty to call on me for any news-paper abuse you or your father may have to complain of—I, *surely never did, nor do I ever intend to, write any observations on any physician's conduct or practice, and sincerely regret the unworthy conduct of both parties.*

“ ANDREW ROSS.”

ONE would have thought, that this was humble enough to have satisfied a Bashaw; but, the “generous” John Rush, waxed, it seems, still more wrath. He knew before, that Ross was an *old man*, and that, from the effects of a stroke of the Sun received in the East Indies, *he was hardly capable of wielding a sword or even drawing a trigger*, yet the boiling, raging, fiery youth avoided any thing like a challenge; but, the moment he received the last note; the moment he was, as he thought,

thought, quite sure that Ross was *fearful* as well as aged and infirm, he became absolutely outrageous and ungovernable, and dared the tottering old man to mortal fray. The note of Ross contained an answer so complete; it so implicitly complied with the "*demand*" of Rush, and pleaded, not "*guilty*" my lord, in accents so tame and submissive, that the "generous" young man found great difficulty in framing an excuse for challenging him. The opportunity of *giving proof of his courage* was, however, too favourable, and *too safe*, to be let slip; he therefore sent Ross the following note.

" Sir,

" Oct. 17, 1797."

" THE unpolite manner in which you treated my note of this morning, and the epithet of an "*impertinent puppy*" which you have applied to me, demand satisfaction. If you refuse to give it to me, I shall consider you as a scoundrel, and treat you accordingly.

" JOHN RUSH."

THIS note was put into the hands of Bullus, one of Rush's young doctors, as they are called. Bullus and the challenger watched the opportunity when Ross came along the street, went out and stopped him, and presented him the challenge. Ross read it, and repeated, as well he might, the appellation of "*impertinent puppy*;" upon which, the courageous Rush first struck him with his fist, and then beat him with a thick bludgeon cane, knocked off his hat, cut his face  
and

and head, and otherwise maimed him in a most shameful manner.

Ross concluded (with what reason the reader will judge), that this most inhuman assault had been perpetrated at the instigation of Old Rush, who was, however ten years younger than himself; and, in the first moments of his rage, sent the “*unoffending*” and “*benevolent*” Doctor the following challenge.

“ 17 Oct. 1797.”

“ DOCTOR ROSS requests Dr. Rush to meet him to-morrow morning in the Jerseys with a friend—Mr. Walker will let him know time and place.”

THIS note reached Rush in the evening. He well knew the sort of treat of which he was invited to partake, and the cause of the invitation; for the savage assault on Dr. Ross took place only a few yards from his own door. But the meek and benevolent Benjamin knew also, that Ross’s note did not amount *quite to a challenge*, and, therefore, instead of going to the injured and enraged old man, and clearing himself of the charge of being the instigator of his son; instead of condemning the vile conduct of that son, or attempting to make him apologize for the outrage, he set himself very coolly and deliberately to work *to draw from Ross such expressions as would be good grounds for a prosecution*. Were Theophrastus and La Bruyère to raise from the dead, and to club their talents in drawing the character of Rush, they could not produce

duce it half so complete as it is exhibited in the following correspondence.

RUSH.

“ DOCTOR RUSH wishes to know for *what purpose* he is to meet Doctor Ross to-morrow morning in the Jerseys.”

ROSS.

“ DOCTOR ROSS will let Doctor Rush know when they meet.”

RUSH.

“ DOCTOR RUSH’s time being much engaged at présent he cannot consent to leave town, without knowing *the business* he is to go upon.

ROSS.

“ THE sole purpose of meeting is to have *personal satisfaction* of Dr. Rush for the ruffian assault of his son this morning, of which he considers the Doctor as the sole instigator.”

This was precisely what was wanted by Rush; it was an unequivocal challenge, and subjected the writer to a certain fine of *five hundred pounds*, one half of which would go into the pocket of the plaintiff. Having obtained his end, the benevolent

lent Rush thus put an end to the correspondence.

RUSH.

“ Sir,

“ I do not fear death, but I dare not offend  
 “ God by exposing myself, or a *fellow creature*,  
 “ to the chance of committing murder; I have  
 “ not injured you, and I freely forgive you all the  
 “ injuries you have attempted to do me.

“ The treatment you received this morning  
 “ from my son, was not instigated directly by me.  
 “ *It was occasioned by your calling him an “ imper-  
 “ tinent puppy: ” your note, without that insulting  
 “ language, would have satisfied him.*”

“ Dr. Ross.”

“ B. RUSH.”

There you see him, reader! That is he! That's Rush in every lineament! This note, of three short sentences only, gives you a fair sample of his *bravery*, his *piety*, his *humanity*, his *christian meekness and charity*. Were I to quit the narrative here, however, you might suppose, that he took no further notice of the challenge; but, to leave such an impression on your mind would be doing great injustice to the character of my hero, and therefore, however hypocritical, however base and malignant his conduct may appear, I must tell you, that, this “*patient Martyr*”, this most *unoffending* and *benevolent* of mankind,” who, on the evening of the 17th, wrote to Ross that he *freely forgave him every thing*, commenced, the next morning, a criminal prosecution against him,  
 procured

procured a warrant, had him seized, and actually took every measure *for sending him to jail*.

Doctor Ross did not associate with *Philadelphians*, and, *therefore*, he was not deserted by his friends in the hour of trouble. Several Gentlemen, into whose company Rush would, on no account, have been admitted, immediately came forward to give bail for Doctor Ross, and thus, the last effort of the *meek* Rush's "benevolence" was defeated. But, though his philanthropy was yet unsatisfied, it must be confessed that his triumph was much too complete. Ross was a man of learning and of wit; of the frivolous talents and opinions of the shallow Rush he had frequently expressed his contempt; this the "benevolent" man knew, for this he hated him, and that Ross was attacked by the son for this, is very clear, because the assault took place after it was known that he was not the author of the publication in Fenno's paper, which was the *pretext* of the quarrel; and because the reason grounded on the *pretended insult* given by Ross to Young Rush was too palpably absurd to impose on the most ignorant person in the city.

In whatever point of view we contemplate this affair, to whichever motive we ascribe the conduct of Rush and his Son and their assistants, the treatment of Dr. Ross, from the beginning to the end, was the most vindictive, the most base, the most foul and dastardly act, that ever was committed in the face of day. But, in considering, separately, the parts acted by this group of  
*philanthropists*



*philanthropists* and *heroes*, we must certainly award the palm to Rush. The rude and brutal libeller might, for aught we know, have blushed, after he was informed, that the object of his infamous calumny was innocent of the offence for which he had assailed him;\* the “*nice-feeling, generous*” son might, *possibly*, have felt something like remorse, when he saw the blood running down the forehead of a defenceless old man, approaching to three score; but, be this as it may, the “benevolent” Rush, the “*Hipocrates of Pennsylvania*,” the “*patient Martyr*,” the *saving angel*,” remained unmoved, unsatisfied by the vengeance inflicted by the libeller and the ruffian. His piety, his Christian meekness, did, indeed, prevent him from exposing his “fellow creature” to the chance of death in a duel, but it did not restrain him from sending a filthy wretch to drag him through the streets as a prisoner; it did not

restrain

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\* I observed before, that this most base and wicked publication appeared in the news paper of Rush's intimate friend *Bradford*; but, in order to give the *foreign* reader some idea of this intimate friend, I must add a word or two here. *Bradford* is the identical printer and book-seller of whom honourable mention is made in my life and adventures; but, in what regarded the libel against Doctor Ross, I must do him the justice to acknowledge that he had a *partner* worthy of sharing with him. This partner in his paper was one *Lloyd*, a man just arrived in America, after a three years confinement in *Newgate*. Let it be remembered also, that the person whom *Lloyd* and *Bradford* employed as editor to their paper, tenanted, but a few months before, the *jail of Calcutta*.---Such were the proprietors and conductors of the press, which constantly extolled the character and practice of *Rush*, and as constantly poured forth libels on his opponents.

restrain him from exulting at the indignities heaped upon Ross; it did not restrain him from appearing at the mayor's office to enjoy the pleasure of seeing this old and reputable gentleman, compelled to appear as a criminal to bare his head before a doughty magistrate, and expose his grey locks, yet clotted with the blood drawn by the bludgeon of the Rushite; from these indulgences he was restrained neither by his *benevolence*, his *christian charity*, nor his *philanthropick tenderness!*

“*But,*” says the *English* reader, “did not the people of Philadelphia hoot this fellow from their city? or, at least, did not his conduct excite universal indignation and abhorrence?”—Oh, dear, no! Quite the contrary, John Bull! The Pennsylvanians have a sort of morality, which you do not yet understand, and which I pray God you never may. A full Account of this vile transaction, of this excess of beggarly insolence and dastardly cruelty, was published in *my paper* and in that of *Mr. Fenno*; but, Doctor Ross was well known to be a Briton by birth and a *Royalist* in politicks, and, therefore, had young Rush chopped off his head, and presented it to his father in a charger, I do verily believe, that, amongst all the hundreds and hundreds of American newspapers, not a *third* would have been found to express a disapprobation of the deed.\*

FEW

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\* IN fact, this attack on poor old Ross, seems to have drawn the merits of the Rushes from obscurity; for the President

FEW readers will, I trust, wish for any further information relative to the character of Rush and his son; but it seems to be no more than just to compare the preceding facts with the eulogium of pleader Hopkinson. “ I do believe from my soul,” said the bombastical ballad-monger, “ that Doctor Rush is amongst the most *unoffending* and *benevolent* of mankind.”—Again: “ he has sons of *nice-feeling* and *generous* sensibility.”—And again: “ Manlier passions swell, agitate and enflame the breasts of his sons.—They *burn*, they *burst with indignation*, rage, and woe. *With difficulty* the prudential advice, the parental command of the father restrain their fury—With difficulty they are prevented from taking immediate vengeance on their cruel oppressor—“ *Be patient my children, said he, I am deeply injured, but the laws of my country offer me justice, and point out the road to redress. It is tardy, but it is certain and ample. Delay may be painful to you, but the duties of a good citizen require it.*” This suit then Gentlemen, and the hope of the justice that *you* will administer, may have been the guardian angels of the defendant.”

THUS, as I before observed, Hopkinson not only extolled the lamb-like gentleness of Doctor  
Rush

President, very soon afterwards, appointed the father *Treasurer of the Mint*, and the son a *Surgeon in the Navy!*—*Vivat Respublica!!!* as the play-actors say at the bottom of their bills.

Rush, but insisted, that it was his “*prudential advice*,” his “*parental command*,” that restrained his *manly* sons from taking “*immediate vengeance*,” on me, “*their cruel oppressor*,” But, my dear little Hail-Columbia, do pray tell me, if Rush’s prudential advice and parental command restrained his burning, bursting, raging, revenging, driving, desperate sons from attacking me, how came it to pass, that the same advice and command could not restrain them from attacking Doctor Ross? That Ross had offended them more than I had, you will not, certainly, pretend; for, let it be remembered, that the attack on Ross was made after the suit was commenced against me. Besides, I re-published the very article for which the Rushes quarrelled with Ross; they were more *sure*, therefore, that I was “*guilty*,” as they called it, while, with respect to the author, they proceeded merely upon *suspicion*. Tell me, then I say, thou “*nice-feeling*” husband of a *nice-begotten* spouse, why these burning, bursting, desperate sons did not come to attack me? Tell me how it happened, that they came to be so very obedient to the parental command in one instance, and so totally regardless of it in another? Tell me how the arm of the “*generous*” John Rush was withheld from *a stout man of thirty years of age*, while nothing could withhold it from *a tottering old man of three score*? Do you say that the father’s authority was not exerted in the latter instance? then I ask, *why* was it not? Do you say that old Rush was not acquainted with the intended

intended assault of his son? then, I tell you to read his last letter to Doctor Ross, where you will see, that, if he denies being the *instigator* of his son, he does not deny a knowledge of his intention: and you will also see, that, he, in no very unequivocal terms, *justifies* his son's brutal and dastardly conduct. But, will you say, after all, that the parental command was not exerted, or was ineffectual, because Ross had called the son an "*impertinent puppy*," which I had not done? This would be very bad ground for you to take; it would place your little skeleton in a very awkward position; for, if the pious father was, as he pretended to be, "*principled* against duelling," he ought, in one case as well as another, to have prevented his from exposing himself to "the chance of committing murder:" on the other hand, if he exerted his authority without effect, what becomes of the "*nice-feeling* and *generous sensibility*" of the affectionate and dutiful son, who could be prevented from chastising a person that called his father a *quack*, an *empirick*, and a *puffer*, while not even the powerful "parental command" could restrain him from challenging and assaulting another, who had only called himself an "*impertinent puppy*?"

STILL, amidst all this hypothesis, there may remain some little doubt, and therefore, I shall close the subject with the relation of a fact which will admit of none. On the day that Doctor Ross was assaulted, I published a short account of the matter. Owing to the hasty manner

manner in which I received my information, this account was not perfectly correct, but it did not deviate from the truth in any essential point. John Rush, however, in a statement which he published the next day, thought proper to give the world a specimen of his *high breeding* “*nice feeling and generous sensibility,*” by concluding an address to me in the following words:—“ I must stigmatize you a *liar* and a perverting *rascal*. You call yourself an Englishman. Englishmen are brave, but you are a *coward*.”—This language the reader will allow, was rather harsh, considering that it came from the son of the meek Doctor Rush, and, considering too, that he had made use of it *after* his father had, as Hopkinson told the jury, desired him and commanded him to be *patient* and wait quietly, like a good citizen, for the due operation of the law. People said that *Jack*, though a vessel of the third generation, still smelt strongly of the old *dram-shop* in Second Street.

UNWILLING to be thought inferior to the “*nice-feeling*” youth, in politeness, and more unwilling to be thought afraid of his *bludgeon*, I repaid him in his own coin, and with interest, by publishing his address, and subjoining to it the following remark—“ N. B. I affirm this John Rush to be an *impertinent puppy*, a *way-laying coward*, a *liar*, and a *rascal*.”—The inapposite, far-fetched, hypocritical, cringing compliment to *Englishmen* I did not return; probably because I had, just at that time, *no sister upon*

upon the point of being married to an American.\*

Now, it will most assuredly be allowed, that *way-laying coward, liar and rascal* are appellations full as provoking as that of *impertinent puppy*; but in order to put to the test the sincerity of the plea for attacking Ross, I inserted the very appellation, for which it was pretended he was attacked; yet *I* was never assaulted; no Doctor Bullus came to pester *me* with demands and challenges! Young Rush, in justification of his ruffian-like assault on Doctor Ross, told the

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\* THE wise Doctor Rush, in his eulogium on Rittenhouse, very sagaciously observes, that "*Man* is made for a Republick, and a Republick is made for *Man*." Whether the Doctor meant this as a *Dogma* or a *Conundrum* is not quite certain; but, however necessary he may think republicanism to the existence of *Man*, it is pretty clear he does not believe in any such necessity with respect to *Woman*; for he has married one of his daughters to a very loyal subject of His Majesty, an inhabitant of the Royal Province of Canada. Of the same sentiment appears to be that clamorous republican, *McKean*, who, though continually bawling against *Monarchy* and *Aristocracy*, has married his eldest daughter to the Spanish Ambassador, who is, of course, a subject to a King, and bears, besides, the title of a *nobleman*.-- The truth is, reader, all these men's abhorrence of Royalty, and its appendages is sheer dissimulation. Whimsical, perverse and foolish as they may be in other respects, in their professions on this subject they have too much sense to be sincere. Their edging in "*honourable*" and "*esquire*" with their ignoble names, wherever they think it will be tolerated, proves to you, that men are now what they were in the days of *Æsop*, and admonishes you, that whenever you hear a *citizen* expressing his *contempt for titles*, you should look up n him as only speaking a parody on the poor Fox's soliloquy to the grapes.

the public that though his father was inclined to wait, with patience, the decision of a jury, *he*, for his part, was not. "I have *not*," said the burning, bursting blade, "been able to reduce "*my feelings to the same degree of composure.*" —Wonderfully strange feelings! They were one day, roused to brutal violence, at the appellation of *impertinent puppy*, and the next, they remained totally unaffected by *the very same appellation*, with the aggravating addition of *coward, liar, and rascal!* With men of *common feelings*, however iracible their tempers, age and infirmity are always looked upon as a protection from personal vengeance: to men of *common sensibility*, for injuries received from the old and infirm, the law offers the only means of obtaining redress. But, the Rushes proceed upon maxims diametrically the opposite of these, Their "*nice feeling and generous sensibility*" teach them to go to war with the old, and to law with the young; to attack weakness with a bludgeon, and strength with a writ!

AFTER detailing these well established facts, it would be superfluous to add the scores of others of nearly the same sort, which might be produced. No man of integrity and common-sense can want further proofs, and as I write for the satisfaction of neither knaves nor fools, I shall now take my leave of the Doctor as a *moralist*, and consider him under the character of a *politician*, a *philosopher*, and a *physician*.

“ AND



“ AND why will you,” exclaims the reader, “tease me with so frivolous and despicable a subject!”—I acknowledge the justice of the reproof; but I beg leave to observe, that the undertaking is not a voluntary act. It has, like Rush’s *birth and moral character*, been forced on me by the printed report of the trial, and, therefore, whatever honour he may derive from the examination, must be attributed to the super-abundant zeal of his own advocates; or, rather, perhaps, to his discretion, in having engaged them on a *conditional fee*.

THESE impassioned pleaders, who seem to have thought that they heard the sweet chinking of the English guineas at the close of every period, not content with representing their client as “*immaculate*,” as the most “*tender*, the most “*meek*, the most *unoffending*, and the most “*benevolent of mankind*,” could not refrain from added to their vocabulary of superlatives, the most “*patriotick*” and most “*learned*.” They desired the enlightened jury to observe well, that Doctor Rush was a “*saving angel*” and a “*republican*,” while the defendant was a “*demon*,” a “*royalist*,” and (still rising in the climax) a “*British subject*.”—“My client,” said Hopkinson, “*has often drawn his pen in the service of his country*. His fame has spread as extensively as our commerce. *He has added a fresh and blooming laurel to the head of American genius*. He *has done much to rescue the American name* from

“ *from that obloquy and contempt, which some of the proud Philosophers of Europe would cast upon us, ranking us as inferior to themselves in the order of beings.*”

THIS was rare sport, as far as it went ; but, I marvel much, that the zealous Hopkinson, who is himself an author both in prose and verse, did not enlarge, did not go into some detail, on so charming a subject. I am surprised that he did not tell the jury *what* services Rush’s pen had rendered their country ; that he did not explain to them *how* this great man had rescued the American name from obloquy and contempt ; that he did not, delight their eyes as well as their ears, by *showing them some of the sprigs* of the fresh and blooming laurel. So industrious an advocate ought, methinks, to have recollected the instantaneous effect which Mark Anthony produced on the sovereign people of Rome by the judicious display of a piece of rusty parchment ; and though poor Pennsylvania bears none but *bastard* laurel,\* the “ *nice-feeling*” Hopkinson might easily have come into court with a bunch of THAT *under his arm*. It might not, indeed have been very *fresh* or very *blooming* ; but, I dare say, the group would have ogled it with singular delight.

THIS

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\* THE *Laurus nobilis* will not grow in Pennsylvania. The sort found there is that which Botanists call the *Kalmia*, or *Dwarf Laurel* ; and, because it *comes by chance*, and is never cultivated and regularly planted, the vulgar call it the *bastard laurel*. The buds and berries that it bears are poisonous.

THIS omission on the part of Hopkinson astonishes me the more, when I consider that he might have entered into particulars with so little trouble to himself, and so much advantage to his ingenious and learned client. He had nothing to do but to open the Doctor's works, and go on from subject to subject, comparing his theory with his practice, and expatiating at every close, on his profundity and consistency. Beginning with the *Politician*, he might have shown from Rush's eulogium on the President of the Democratic Society, that he insisted on a republic's being the only government fit for a human being to live under, and he might then have observed, as a proof of the eulogist's sincerity, that he, in a year or two after, married his daughter to a *subject*, and sent her to live under the government of a King. Further he might have shown, from the same work, that his client professed the most ardent love for personal independence, and might have given another striking proof of his sincerity, by remarking, that he, immediately afterwards, solicited and obtained a fat post for himself and another for his son the "generous" bludgeonist. From Rush's account of the Yellow Fever of 1793 (written before he got into place), Hopkinson might have exhibited to the jury a great number of proofs, that the Doctor was not an admirer of revolutions in medicine only, and that so full was he of the politicks of Tom Paine, he could not resist the temptation to hail the approach of the auspicious day, when "the general use, of calomel, jalap, and the launcet" (merciful

ful God!), “ shall be considered among the most “ essential articles of the knowledge, and *rights* “ of Man”!!!—If the jury had felt (which, however, there was little fear of) any qualms of conscience at the tremendous prediction, the sagacious pleader might, like Timotheus of old, have changed both this subject and his tone, and returning to the Doctor’s mazy dance of politicks, he might have followed him from the Blue-stock-ing and Yellow-wigs to the Constitutionalists, from them to the Republicans, from the Republicans to the Jacobins, and from the Jacobins to the Federalists, amongst whom Mr. Adams has discovered the art of keeping him steady, by giving him, his family and relations an ample share of the Loaves and Fishes.\*

PROCEEDING to the *Philosopher*, it was pe-  
peculiarly incumbent upon Hopkinson to show  
*how* the Doctor had “ added a fresh and bloom-  
“ing laurel to the head of American genius,”  
and

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\* *John Rush*, the “ nice-feeling, generous” gentleman, who committed the base assault on poor old Doctor Ross, was appointed a *Surgeon* in the frigate UNITED STATES; but behold! before he had been many months a *surgeon*, he was appointed a *Lieutenant* of the said frigate!!! Like his father, he appears to be a man of universal genius. He first studied *medicine*, then the *law*, then *medicine* again; then, became a *surgeon*, and, taking a fancy to the uniform of a lieutenant, he became a lieutenant. It’s a mercy he did not fall in love with the post of Commodore!—As it is, however, a few lucky shots from the enemy might put the best vessel and the most numerous crew, belonging to this country under his command! “ *Vivat Respublica!*”

and *what* he had done “to rescue the American name from the obloquy and contempt, cast upon it by the proud Philosophers of Europe.” A very few leaves of this laurel would have sufficed; but he certainly might have shown some of it. He might have reminded the wise jury, that Doctor Rush once read Chemical Lectures to young ladies in the Philadelphia *Female Academy*\*. These pretty Girls were told by the learned philosopher

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\* THIS Academy was, a few years ago, in great vogue, but is now alas! *no more*.—It was founded on principles somewhat similar to those of *Mary Wolstoncraft* and *John Walker*, and was intended as a seminary where the republican fair might obtain the rudiments, at least, of the *Rights of Woman*. That all might be of a piece, the principal master was an old Irish soldier, who “left” His Majesty’s 47th regiment at the battle of Lexington and Concord. His name was *Brown*. He afterwards published a paper, by the assistance of Rush, and, as a grateful return for that assistance, his miserable sheet was always at the Doctor’s command. To say that this fellow *deserted* would be “too harsh,” as Mr. Harper says. He felt a call to quit the ranks of a “tyrant” (as the King is called in the *Declaration of Independence*), in order to join the standard of *Liberty*; and, though there was an *oath* in his way, he nobly surmounted the obstacle.

HAVING had occasion to mention this man, it would be a culpable neglect in me not to say something more of his history, which certainly furnishes one of the most awful lessons ever held out to mankind.—*Brown* was a private soldier at the time of his “leaving” the 47th regiment; he rose rapidly in the American army, and was, at the time when Genl. Burgoyne was captured, (see *ANBURY*, vol. 2. p. 205.) a Major and Commissary of provisions. After the war was over, he kept the *Female Academy* of Philadelphia; he next established a news-paper, which, for profit, was thought to be the first in the United States. He used to boast of clearing *sixteen thousand dollars* a year, and, though this was  
a shameful

philosopher, that the longevity of the antideluvians was entirely owing to their breathing dephlogisticated air; for, that, before the deluge, there were none of those noxious vapours, which, in this our day, arise from stagnate waters!

IN Rush's Treatise on education, Hopkinson might have found two fundamental principles: 1st, *that true learning depends upon a total ignorance of the learned languages*, the study of which not only waste the time at a precious period of life, but, by giving antient notions, preclude the possibility of instilling modern ideas into youthful minds.\* 2nd, that children should have sharp  
knives

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a shameful exaggeration, it is certain that he lived in great splendour, kept his chariot and pair and his country seat. His prosperity seemed not only to be complete, but to have received the stamp of duration; when, lo! in one fatal hour, a *fire*, kindled by a spark in his office, bereft him of the wife he had married, and of all the children that had been born to him, after his leaving the service of his King. He himself, who had not many hours before returned from a joyous concert, was not, indeed, burnt instantly to death; but he expired at the end of two days, during which time his excruciating torments suffered him to retain just enough of his senses to learn, that, of all his children, the only one left to inherit his wealth, was a *son*, whom he had by a former wife, in Ireland, and *whom he had disowned and driven from his door!*

Who can view the progress and the lamentable catastrophe of Brown, without thinking on the words of Holy Writ?—"I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree. Yet he passed away, and, lo, he was not: yea I sought him but he could not be found."

\* Rush despises a knowledge of the learned languages for much about the same reason that an ugly old hag despises beauty.

knives, chizels, hatchets, shears and every sort of edge-tool, to *play* with; because, clipping a nose, or chopping off a finger, is a trifling accident in comparison with the advantage to be derived from an early knowledge of the use of these instruments. If the Doctor had written his Treatise at a later period, he certainly would not have omitted the *Guillotine*, of which useful revolutionary instrument there is an excellent model kept, for the instruction of the citizens, in the Philadelphia Museum!!

THERE was one leaf of the Doctor's philosophical laurel, which his eulogist should, on no account have forgotten: I allude to his learned Treatise on the colours of the skin. In this Treatise, which is to be found in the 4th and last volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (of which Rush is a very worthy member), he endeavours to, and thinks he does, prove, that the colour of the Negroes proceeds solely from the *Leprosy*, and that, when the race shall be *purged* of that disease, they will all turn white!!!

AFTER having produced these specimens of the fresh and blooming laurel, these convincing proofs of Rush's successful efforts, as a philosopher, *to rescue the American name from CONTEMPT*, Hopkinson might have given the Jury a sketch of his patriotick endeavours in the character of a *physician*. He might have quoted a book, written by Doctor Rush, long ago, in answer to the  
famed

famed Cadogan's Treatise on the Gout, wherein the Pennsylvanian "*Hippocrates*" recommends *hot suppers and good living at night*, for this wise reason; that nature has a deal of business during the day, in supplying muscular motion and the operations of the mind, and, of course, cannot attend to digestion, which is best performed in sleep, when she has nothing else to do!

HE might have produced the Doctor's Essay on Consumptions, where he says, that going to sea was good for that disease, only when the patient should be obliged to live as sailors before the mast do, and be *frequently exposed to cold, to wet, to hard labour, to coarse diet and rough usage*: that, going into the country for the salubrity of the air, was, in such complaints, absurd, unless the patient were made to *work at the plough, to be out in all weather, and to return home after night*; and that, when a man is so weak that he cannot sit upon a horse, it is a strong indication that *he ought to ride!!*

HE might have had the evidence of several medical gentlemen in Philadelphia, that Doctor Rush recommends bleeding in the *Dropsy* and in the *Ague*, because in these there are inflammatory symptoms!!!—And, if any one of the Jury had had the audacity to observe, that this was like brandy being a predominant ingredient in pure water, or fire being concealed in ice, Rush might have sued him for damages.

HOPKINSON might have appealed to the Managers



agers of the Pennsylvania Hospital (one of whom the *sleek-headed Coats*, was, indeed, all the time at his elbow), and these gentlemen could have told the Jury, that Doctor Rush, the modern "Hippocrates," caused a thing like a Gallows, with a rope suspended from it, to be erected in their yard, for the purpose of curing insanity by *swinging*: that, the poor patients, on viewing this well-known engine, with its ominous pendant, thought they were brought out to be hanged, and that, after the first operation, they imagined they had a temporary reprieve, but were, the next time, to be tucked up in earnest!!!!

But, of all the sins of omission of which mortal man was ever guilty, Hopkinson's neglecting to detail, and expatiate on, the Doctor's system of *Depletion*, was certainly the most heinous and most unpardonable. What makes this conduct the more preposterous, is, Rush's lawyers, and the Judge, made it a great crime in me, *not to have examined the system!* Please heaven, they shall not have to charge me with the like omission this time; for if I leave unexposed any one of its absurdities; if I leave unrelated one anecdote in the history of blood, it shall be for want of knowledge or of memory, and not for want of inclination.

[To be continued.]

THIS

RUSHITE FRANKNESS AND GRATITUDE,  
EXEMPLIFIED IN THE CONDUCT OF DOCTOR  
MEASE,  
THE PUPIL, THE FRIEND, AND ONE OF THE  
WITNESSES OF RUSH.

“ *Read this, my young blade, and then to dinner*  
“ *With what stomach you may.*”

THIS *Doctor Mease* was one of those men, who volunteered in the glorious service of retailing to a court and jury certain words, which, in a tête à tête conversation, he heard me utter, respecting my resolution to punish Rush for his insolent appeal to the law against Mr. Fenno and me. My counsellor, Mr. *Harper*, who seemed anxious to find something to commend in every one, who gave satisfactory proofs of being my enemy, was kind enough to observe, that the three Witnesses (*Mease* amongst the rest) were “ *gentlemen of great respectability FOR THEIR AGE.*” What he meant by tacking on the phrase, “ *for their age,*” I cannot think. Did he mean, that they were rendered respectable by their *grey locks*, or that considering their *beard-less chins*, they were very respectable fellows? Either meaning was equally nonsensical, for they were all three about *thirty* years of age; so that, “ *for their age,*” was an unmeaning expletive, clapped in to ward off the charge, of having bestowed on these volunteer heroes his *unqualified* approbation.

BUT,

BUT, however, respectable Mease might be for his *age*, I am persuaded, that, after the relation of the following anecdote, he will be more respectable for his *frankness* and *gratitude*.

MEASE was, in the Yellow Fever of 1797, Physician of the port of Philadelphia; it was his business to inspect all entering vessels, and if they had sick on board, or came from certain places, it was his duty to make them perform a quarantine opposite the fort. That he was extremely fit for this post every one must allow, who considers, that he believed, with his famed preceptor, that the Yellow Fever was generated in the *air*; and that it could not, in any case whatever be *imported*. And who can enough admire the submissiveness of the poor sovereign people, who, without daring to remonstrate, suffered their health and their lives to remain at the mercy of such a man!

THE “respectable” Mease, to whom the governor, Mifflin, had given the post as so much of the public money, which he was obliged to bestow on some one else than himself, acted as might be expected. Very few vessels were stopped; and the board of health having forced Mifflin to issue a proclamation forbidding the entrance of certain vessels into the ports of Pennsylvania, Mease suffered them to go by the fort, by which they are enabled to get up to Burlington in New Jersey. The Mayor of Burlington complained of it to Mifflin, who answered his letter

letter in expressions of regret at the conduct of Mease, which conduct he called "*highly irregular.*" That this epithet was far too mild to be applied to an act of disobedience, so audacious in itself and so dangerous in its consequences, every one must perceive. Indeed, the poor sovereign people of Philadelphia, though they dared not speak out, did, in this instance, grumble most bitterly; and some of them had even the courage to declare (in a *whisper*), that the insolent Rushite ought to be turned out of his place, in which opinion the reader will, I think, perfectly agree with them.

So thought not however the pupil of Rush. A man who had learned to bleed and purge under the Pennsylvanian "Hippocrates," was not, though in terms the most gentle, to be censured with impunity. But, the young man was, for some time, at a loss for a *mode* in which to obtain vengeance. Mifflin though sunk to the lowest ebb, had yet spirit enough left to beat forty Rushites together; and he had, besides, the power of reducing Mease's revenue from about 900 dollars a year to *nothing*. Duly impressed with these circumstances, and wisely resolving still to go to bed with a full belly and whole bones, this "gentleman respectable *for his age*," fell upon a way of giving poor Mifflin a stab, without letting him see the base and perfidious hand by which it was given; in pursuance of this his intention, he sent me the following note, and paragraph, which I now copy from his own hand writing.

" Dear

“ Dear Sir,

“ IF you do not think *the inclosed paragraph* proper to come  
“ come out in *your name*, (in which I have taken the liberty to  
“ write it, and which I hope you will excuse,) *do not insert it*,  
“ but otherwise I would thank you to publish it.

“ Your friend,

“ Mr. Wm. Cobbett.”

“ JAMES MEASE.”

“ Sept. 20.”

[Paragraph.]

“ PETER PORCUPINE has this day published Dr. Mease's let-  
“ ter to the Mayor of Burlington,\* explaining the principles  
“ upon which he acted in permitting certain vessels *bound to*  
“ Burlington” [a wretched lie!] “ to pass his station without  
“ performing quarantine; and, in *Porcupine's opinion*” [oh! you  
“ impudent, lying dog!] “ is fully satisfactory. As an officer of  
“ Pennsylvania, Dr. Mease, would have acted in a very arbitrary  
“ manner had he done otherwise.” [What Cat's paw, what a  
“ quibbling, what a villainous miscreant this fellow wished to  
“ make of me!] “ The Governor says Doctor Mease's conduct  
“ was *highly irregular*,” and that he will sanction no act  
“ that may injure the feelings of the citizens of Burlington;  
“ but this *we all know* is mere stuff, for that he” [the very man  
“ who had given him his place!] “ does not care a cent for  
“ their feelings *provided his own depraved sensations are grati-*  
“ *fied by the brandy-bottle!*—The more the Governor's princi-  
“ ples are developed, the more it is discovered, that he is a  
“ rank Aristocrat, under the cloak of a Democrat. Hence  
“ he wishes to make his “Proclamations” extend to Jersey;  
“ though the law” [a subterfuge worthy of a Rushite], “ it  
“ appears, which authorizes him to issue this proclamation,  
“ says it shall not. When in the drunken frolicks with the  
“ *rabble*” [This fellow was a declared Democrat!], “ in 1794,  
“ in which the governor presided” [and where Mease was one  
“ of the “*rabble*”!], “ to celebrate *the murders and assassinations*  
“ *of the cut-throat French*, he drank “ laws and no proclama-  
“ tions:” but here we see he wishes proclamations to go beyond  
“ laws.”

IF

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\* This letter, a very humble though a very shuffling excuse for his conduct, appeared in all the papers.



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THE  
*Rush-Light.*

28th FEB. 1800.

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BEING THE SECOND NUMBER OF VOLUME I.

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“Neither do men light a candle, and put it under  
‘a Bushel, but on a candle-stick; and it giveth light  
“to all that are in the house.”


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ADVERTISEMENT.

**I**F we may judge from present appearances, the circulation of the *Rush-Light* promises to be more extensive than that of *Porcupine's Gazette*; and, as it is the Editor's resolution to make this light (unless it should be prematurely extinguished) glimmer throughout the United States, he proposes to insert, upon additional white wrappers, *advertisements*, upon the same terms, and in the same way, that they are inserted in the London Magazines and Reviews. The advantages which such a vehicle has, over a news-paper, for the advertising of Stage-Coaches, Lottery Schemes, public Undertakings of all sorts, New Books, Prospectuses,

Prospectuses, Patent and other Medicines, and, in short, every thing out of the common line of business, must be evident to every one who reflects on the number of hands which a pamphlet like this passes through, and on its long duration compared to the transitory existence of an open sheet, which is committed to the flames, or something as destructive, after the first or second perusal.

As to the *terms*: nothing will be advertised *gratis*, except the celebrated *Canal Lottery*, No. II. and "*Dr. Rush's celebrated purging powders.*" Other advertisements will be inserted at the rate of 4 dollars for a whole page, of the same dimensions and type as the blue-wrapper that covers each number of the *Rush-Light*. If continued, each continuation will be half-the price of the first insertion. No advertisement under a quarter of a page will be admitted. These prices are but very little higher than those of the newspapers, while the benefit derived cannot fail to be fifty times as great. It is hoped, also (and, indeed, this is the chief inducement with the Editor), that, as the body of the work will suffer no diminution in its bulk by this regulation, the reader will find the advertisements an agreeable and useful addition.

 ADVERTISEMENTS for the Third Number must be received by the Editor on, or before, the 12th of *March*; and afterwards, on, or before, the 12th and 27th of every month.

RUSH



## RUSH AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

(Continued from No. I. page 41.)

*The Rusbite System of Depletion,  
With a statement of Porcupine's reasons for opposing it,  
and a defence of the publication for which he was sued by Rush.*

THE novel system, adopted by Rush, is most aptly denominated, the system of *Depletion*; for the merit of it entirely consists in *emptying* the veins and the intestines with an expedition heretofore unknown and unheard of. Of the effects of this system the people of America have heard and *felt* enough, but of its origin many of them are totally ignorant. For most of the great discoveries, especially those which have contributed to the depopulation of the earth, we are indebted to what appears to have been mere accident, which was also, in some sort, the mother of the System of Depletion.

“As yet snuffing was not,” when a puritanical king-killing saint happened to be led by the spirit to visit a holy sister, who gave him a present that broke down the bridge of his nose. And, as yet MECURIAL PURGES, and “bleeding almost to DEATH,” were not counted amongst the means of preserving life, when the Pennsylvanian “Hippocrates” happened to stumble on a smoky  
old

old manuscript present received from Doctor Franklin. But, before I enter on the particulars of this fortunate accident, I must state certain circumstances by which it was preceded.

RUSH had constantly endeavoured to place himself *at the head* of something or other; and, as is common with persons possessed of vanity too great to suffer them to remain quiet in obscurity, and of talents too contemptible or tempers too fickle to enable them to attain to superiority by the ordinary course of advancement, he had ever been upon the search for some discovery, some captivating novelty, to which he might prefix his *name*, and thus reach, at a single leap, the goal at which men seldom arrive but by slow, cautious, and painful approaches. To a determination to become a great man, in defiance of niggardly nature, might be fairly attributed all the solemn fooleries of this versatile Doctor, who, in his impatient pursuit after fame, had chopped and changed from science to science, 'till at last, like the straggling hound, he had the mortification to see himself outstripped in the chase by the slow-motioned companions whom he formerly despised.\*

#### VARIOUS

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\* Just such another being is that *pestilential* writer, Noah Webster, junr. "*Esqr.*" This poor creature, who, had he been content to move in that sphere, for which alone nature intended him, would, by this time, have been a very tolerable teacher, and would have gained an honest and reputable livelihood, has, by his vanity and presumption, rendered

VARIOUS were the tricks that he tried ; Religion, Morals, Jurisprudence, Literature, Œconomy, Politics and Philosophy, all became, at times, the subject of his plans and his projects. Still, however, fame fled from his grasp. His “ *Original Essays*,” though aided by puffs in abundance, excited a laugh, and that was all. The learned languages were still taught in the schools ; little girls still played with dolls, and parents still kept sharp knives and pointed scissars from the hands of their children ; men still used tobacco, and women continued to sweeten their tea with West India sugar. Thus baffled, thus first despised and then forgotten, as an author, the Doctor saw no hope of rendering himself distinguished but as a *physician*. On this, therefore, he appears to have resolved, much about the time that the Yellow Fever of 1793, offered an opportunity favourable to the enterprize. He had, by those arts which men of his stamp never fail to employ, obtained some

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rendered himself, successively, an object of indignation, contempt, ridicule, and pity. From the collision of two such bodies as Rush and Webster one might naturally expect something strongly expressive of emptiness, and, accordingly, a farcical anecdote of their first meeting in Philadelphia, where Webster had just been appointed a teacher in the Episcopal Academy, is worth relating.

SCENE THE STREET.

*Enter Rush and Webster.*

*Rush.*—How do you do, my dear friend ? I congratulate you on your arrival in Philadelphia.

*Webster.*—You may, if you please, Sir, congratulate Philadelphia on the occasion !!!—— (*They embrace.*)

some trifling marks of respect amongst certain philosophical bodies in Europe ;\* he had thrust himself into many of the public institutions in America ; he read chemical lectures to the young “ Ladies ” in the Philadelphia Academy, and clinical lectures to the young “ Doctors ” in the university of Pennsylvania ; but, all this did not make him a first rate medical man. His practice was still confined to that class of people who are not the best qualified to judge of, or the most able to reward, scientifick merit.

To

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\* RUSH’S pleader, Hopkinson, observed that his learned client had received honours and compliments from the *East-Indies* and from the *West-Indies*. I should like to know whether these honours and compliments came from the Moors or the Gentoos, from the Negroes or Mulattoes. Probably King Toussaint, hearing that our famous phlebotomist is treasurer of the Mint, may have conceived him to be a personage worthy of his “ high consideration.” I wonder Hopkinson had not produced some proof of his client being held in great esteem by their Majesties, Kings Bull-Dog and Hanging-Maw, at whose court he himself had the *honour* of a public audience.

BUT another of the pleaders, Ingersol, went further. He told the jury, that his client was an *honorary* member of *almost every Society in Europe or in the world*. When I was a boy, we used to say, that *almost* and hard-by saved many a *lie* ; but, I can hardly allow master Ingersol to take shelter under this salvo. Amongst the learned societies that ought to be supposed capable of judging of Rush’s merits, are, certainly, those of Great Britain ; and I can assure the reader, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Doctor, his name has never met with any thing worthy of being called *honour* from those societies. He has, indeed, been noticed by two or three little knots of visionaries in France and Germany, amongst whom any man may purchase an *honorary* membership with the price of a pair

To recover his lost ground, to relieve himself from this humiliating situation, and to tower over the heads of his envied brethren, he seized, with uncommon alacrity and address, the occasion presented by the Yellow Fever, the fearful ravages of which were peculiarly calculated to dispose the minds of the panick-struck people to the tolerance, and even to the admiration, of experiments, which, at any other time, they would have rejected with disdain. Besides this debilitated state of the publick mind, Rush had several other circumstances in his favour : the only newspaper (that of Brown), which continued to circulate in the city, was almost entirely under his controul ; his clamorous professions of republicanism had gained him numerous partizans amongst the class of citizens who could not flee to the country ; and the physicians, whose opinions he had to encounter, though highly respected by all classes

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pair of shoes a-piece for the president and vice-president. ---Ingersol descended to particulars, and in this he was singularly fortunate. He mentioned *Dr. Trotter* as having borne testimony to the merits of Rush ; but, without knowing, perhaps, that *Dr. Trotter* had also borne testimony, and in a more decided and publick manner, to the merits of *Perkins's Metallic Points !!!* It is pity the pleader had not been apprized of this fact. What a fine opportunity for exulting at the triumph of American genius over the " obloquy and contempt cast upon it by the proud philosophers of Europe !" And let it be remembered, too, that these two great men have arisen *since the revolution* ; since these states have been a *Repbulick*. Had such lights begun to blaze forth under the Monarchy, I doubt that some one would have been found tyrannical enough to put the extinguisher on them.

classes, were men of too peaceable a turn to enter the field with a person, who scrupled not, at the very opening of the campaign, to carry the war into the publick-prints, and though many of them were by no means deficient in point of spirit, they probably thought it beneath the dignity of their characters to engage in a contest, of any sort, with a *Discoverer of Nostrums*. The reflecting on these circumstances, which would have damped the spirit of a man of real science, acted as a stimulus with the enterprising Rush, who, so that he gained a *name* amongst the multitude, seemed totally regardless as to its being purchased by the contempt of his skilful contemporaries.\*

HE did not, however, according to his own account of the matter, go incautiously to work; but took all those preliminary steps, which serve to give the air of plausibility to an unjustifiable procedure. He first consulted, as usual, with the college of physicians; he learnt the particulars, and

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\* MANY are the anecdotes which the Philadelphians relate of the disgusting vanity of this man; but I do not, at present, recollect one so perfectly in character as the following. Rush had advanced, in one of his lectures or essays, some wild and ridiculous position, for which he was reproved by a gentleman who knew him. "Well, well," replied he, "never mind it; only say, it is *à la mode de Rusb.*"---Paltry, despicable vanity! If however, *notoriety* be still his only wish, that wish is *now* in a fair way of being gratified even to satiety.---By the aid of a Philadelphia court and jury, he has procured an ample provision of *money* and of *fame*.

and tried, or pretended to try, the effects of the practice of every individual physician of note: then, and not before, he broached his *grand discovery*. The manner in which this discovery was made, with the pranks that he played before and after it, would, if we could forget the melancholy circumstances that accompanied them, furnish an admirable subject for the pencil of a Moliere.

AT the first breaking out of the Yellow Fever, he made use of “*gentle purges* ;” \* these he laid aside, and had recourse to “*a gentle vomit of ipecacualna* ;” next he “*gave bark in all its usual forms of infusion, powder, and tincture, and joined wine, brandy and aromatics with it* ;” this was followed by “*the application of blisters to the limbs, neck and head* ;” these torments were succeeded by “*an attempt to rouse the system by wrapping the whole body in blankets dipped in warm vinegar* ;” he next “*rubbed the right side with mercurial ointment, with a view of exciting the action of the vessels through the medium of the liver* ;” after this he again returned to bark, which he gave “*in large quantities, and, in one case, ordered it to be injected into the bowels once in four hours* ;” and, at last, having found, that wrapping his patients in *blankets dipped in warm vinegar* did no good,  
he

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\* SEE his Account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, page 193, and the following.

he “ *directed buckets full of cold water to be  
“ thrown frequently upon them!!!”*

SURPRIZING as it may seem, his patients *died!* Thus baffled, as he tells us, in every attempt to stop the ravages of the fever, he anticipated all the numerous and complicated distresses attendant on pestilential diseases. “ Heaven alone,” says he, “ bore witness to the anguish of *my* soul! But,” proceeds he in the same strain of disgusting egotism, “ I did not abandon a hope that the disease might yet be cured. I *had* long believed that good *was* commensurate with evil, and that there *does* not exist a disease for which the goodness of Providence *has\** not provided a remedy.” And, modestly presuming, that he was (as he afterwards boasted in print) the instrument chosen by providence for discovering the remedy, which it had, in this case provided, he tells us, that he applied himself with fresh ardour to the investigation of the Yellow Fever, and, for a long time, in vain. But, says he, “ before I desisted I *recollected* that I had *among some old papers*, a manuscript account  
“ of

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\* READER, I beg you to pay attention to the *grammar* of this sentence, and to recollect, that the writer of it has published what he calls “ *literary essays* ;” that he has had the assurance to decry the mode of teaching, followed in the schools and universities, and the intolerable imprudence to propose its abolition, to make way for a *plan of his own!* It is astonishing that amongst the hundreds of men of learning and genius who have been reviled by this illiterate pretender to universal knowledge, no one has ever undertaken to expose him.



“ of the Yellow Fever, as it prevailed in Virginia,  
 “ in the year 1741, which had been put into my  
 “ hands by Doctor Franklin, a short time before  
 “ his death.”—This present, which was not the  
 only one Franklin bestowed on Philadelphia,  
 proved to be, in its qualities, something like that  
 which poor Hercules received from Dejanira.

RUSH tells us (A. of Yellow F. of 1793-p. 197),  
 that he was much struck with certain passages of  
 this old manuscript, but particularly with one, in  
 which the writer observed, that “ an ill-timed  
 “ *scrupulousness about the weakness of the body was*  
 “ of bad consequence,” and he declared that he  
 “ had given a purge, “ *when the pulse was so low*  
 “ *that it could hardly be felt.*” \*—Reading on,  
 Rush says he came to the following words:—  
 “ This evacuation must be procured by *lenitive*  
 “ *chologogue purges.*”

“ HERE,” says he, “ I paused,—A new train  
 “ of ideas *suddenly* broke in upon my mind.”—  
 He then mentions his former *scruples*; but, adds  
 he, “ Dr. Mitchell” [the man of the old manu-  
 script] “ *in a moment* dissipated my ignorance  
 “ and my *fears*. I adopted his theory, and prac-  
 “ tice,” and [without any trial] “ *resolved to*  
 “ follow them!!”

HAVING, “ in a moment,” formed this reso-  
 lution

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\* I wonder whether this intrepid fellow was a progenitor  
 of the *modest* Dr. Mitchell of New York? The latter is  
 the founder of the “ *Mitchellianian*” something or other,  
 I have forgotten what.

lution, he very soon proceeded to put it in practice. The "*chologogue purge*" that he fixed upon was composed of ten grains of calomel and fifteen of jalap. To this purge, which the inventor sometimes called the *Sampson* of Medicine, was added *copious blood-letting*; a most powerful co-operater!

WITH these *remedies* the Pennsylvanian "Hippocrates" set to work in the beginning of September. This practice gained no partizans, except amongst the ignorant beings who were about his person, or who had recently been his pupils. But, what with the public rage for wonder-working medicines, the noisy boasting of the Rushites, and the delicacy which imposed silence on such men as Drs. Khun and Wistar, the mercurial purges became popular, and the Discoverer so elated that he thought it no longer necessary to suppress the suggestions of his vanity: accordingly, on the twelfth of September, he actually came out in the news-papers with an exulting recommendation of the use of *his* specificks as the only means of saving the lives of the sick.

VARIOUS were the publications that he now sent through the papers, in the form of paragraphs, cards, letters, &c. in one of which he asserted, that, in consequence of his discovery, there was no occasion for fleeing to the country, for that the Yellow Fever was no longer a dangerous disease, but was *now* perfectly under the power of medicine. He concluded this card to the  
people,

people, which was published on the twelfth of September, by saying, that, with *his* remedies, "there was no more danger to be apprehended from the Yellow Fever, than from the *measles* or the *influenza*." On the seventeenth of the same month he concluded a letter to the College of Physicians (who entirely disapproved of his practice) by positively declaring, that, could *he* visit all the sick, and be assisted with proper nurses, the disease would soon be reduced, in point of danger and mortality, to a level with a *common cold*! Still rising in audacity he wrote to Dr. Rodgers of New-York, on the third of October, a letter, which was immediately published, and in which, after speaking of the practice of the other physicians in terms the most contemptuous, he asserted, that *he* recovered *ninety-nine* patients in a *hundred*!

ON the impudence and insolence of these publications the reader will ask for no comment, and their *falsehood* (if, indeed, that will admit of a doubt) shall be amply proved, after I have given some account of the Doctor's practice of *Emptying*, and of his coadjutors in carrying on the noble work.

THE practice was, as he said, very simple and very efficacious; for it consisted merely of bleeding upon bleeding, sometimes to one hundred and fifty ounces, and of purge upon purge, sometimes to sixty grains of mercury and to ninety grains of jalap! It would be highly presumptuous

ous in me to pretend to give *my own* objections to this, or to any other mode of treating a disease; and, therefore, though such unmerciful bleeding and purging seem to be synonymous with death itself, I shall state the objections which were made by those gentlemen, who were, who are, and who will remain, at the head of the medical profession, in America.

THESE gentlemen insisted that *the purges* were of too drastick a nature; they compared them to *arsenick*, and said it was a dose for a horse.—They said that the mercury excited salivation, even to loosening the teeth.\*—They said, that it inflamed and lacerated the stomach and the bowels; and, in proof, they cited a dissection made at Bush-hill, wherein were exhibited the horrid effects of the mercurial purges.—They further said, and as far as I was able to learn, with great truth, that this violent and dangerous purge, though it must inevitably be destructive in weak habits, was prescribed indiscriminately in all cases, to persons of both sexes, and of all ages.—Finally when the calls of humanity compelled them, after long forbearance, publickly to protest against these dreadful doses, they reprobated the use of them in the strongest terms. Doctor Currie, who was one of the College of Physicians

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\* Rush replied to this objection by saying, that he “met with but two cases in which there was a *loss* of teeth from this medicine.”—But, my dear “Hippocrates,” there is some little difference between *loosening* and *losing* one’s teeth. You think it is nothing I suppose, unless your patients’ teeth drop into his porridge?

sicians, earnestly besought the poor deluded Philadelphians to open their eyes, to beware of the new remedies; for, said he, “*the mode of treatment advised by Dr. Rush, cannot, in the Yellow Fever, fail of being CERTAIN DEATH.*”

As to the *bleeding* part of the practice, the same learned and experienced gentleman said, and I believe, most truly, that it was *dangerously copious*, and that many persons had been destroyed by it\*.—They said, that if the patient happened to survive such copious discharges of the vital fluid, they produced weakness, and that their consequences often terminated in the total ruin of the constitution.—Here also they justly complained of the want of discrimination, and asserted that blood-letting was prescribed in all cases, without any regard to the habit, the age, or the force of the diseased.

To each of these objections Rush replied by producing patients *who had survived* the treatment objected

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\* RUSH, in replying to this objection, has these words: “As a *proof* that I did not draw one ounce of blood too much, it will be only necessary to add, hæmorrhages frequently occurred after a third, a fourth, and in one instance, after a sixth bleeding had been used.”—Now, reader, of whatever nation, kindred or tongue you may be, if you live in an American sea-port, and have a life that you think worth preserving, do not proceed an inch further ’till you have carefully and candidly perused a short article towards the close of this pamphlet, entitled, “*The ignorance of the Pennsylvanian Hippocrates exposed.*”—Turn to it immediately, I conjure you, and do not quit it, ’till you have read it three times over.

objected to! That is to say, by proving to the satisfaction of the most incredulous that *every one* he touched did not die! Nobody ever contradicted him; for it was never doubted, that there were constitutions capable of resisting even his prescriptions. For instance, he mentions Mr. Mierken as being able to *work* in the sugar-house, in nine days after his last bleeding; but, he takes good care not to say how much, or rather how little, blood Mr. Mierken lost, and, in the language of one of his opponents, he remembers to forget to say that Mr. Mierken is the Hercules of Philadelphia; that his amazing strength is proverbial, and that, as to his *working* in his sugar-house, it is as ridiculous as would be to talk of an Admiral's *working* on board his ship.—But, I know of no man who surpasses Rush in what is vulgarly called, cheating the devil of lie. This statement respecting Mr. Mierken, is no unfair specimen of his candour.

His co-operators, in the practice above described, were his former pupils, *Leib, Porter, Annan, Woodhouse, and Mease*, men, who, as *physicians*, were scarcely known. Leib, to the celebrity of whose morality I shall dedicate some future number of this work, has, since the Fever of 1793, found it prudent to quit the healing, art and become (God save the while!) a *legislator*. Of Dr. Porter I never heard, 'till he resigned his *no-salary* post in the Dispensary, because his colleague Dr. Reynolds (the United-Irishman had been turned out by the managers of that institution.

Dr.

Dr. Annan is, I believe dead. I never knew him; nor did I ever hear his name mentioned three times in my life. Mease, the *grateful* Mease, the reader saw enough of, in the first number of the *Rush-Light*; but, if any criterion be wanted respecting his professional character and the extent of his practice as a Physician, let it only be remembered, that in 1797, four years after the period of which we are now speaking, he thought himself happy in the office of Physician of the Port, which confined him to an island several miles from the city, upon a salary of about nine hundred dollars a year, an income little exceeding that of a journeyman mechanick in Philadelphia. As to poor Woodhouse, or, as Rush calls him, Dr. Woodhouse, I refer the reader to an article in the next number, entitled the "RAVING RUSHITE." To the abovenamed practitioners are to be added, of course, five pupils, who yet remained under the tuition of Rush.

SUCH were the medical characters, of whose concurrence and whose aid the Doctor had to boast. I shall now speak of the irregular brethren and sisterhood, who were called in to assist in administering the potent mysteries, and whom the High Priest very properly calls the "undisciplined sect of practitioners." Of this sect which was tolerably numerous, Rush records the exploits of a few of the most eminent; these were, a *Popish Priest*, a *German Apothecary*, an *Auctioneer*, two *Old Women*, and a brace of *Negro*  
Parsons

Parsons, the REVEREND ABSALOM JONES and the REVEREND RICHARD ALLEN!!!\*

OF this motly squad the two Reverend Negroes seem to have been his favourites; for, says he, “they spent all the intervals, in which they were not employed in burying the dead, in visiting the poor who where sick, *and in bleeding and purging them*, agreeably to the directions” [his directions] “which had been published in all the newspapers.” He has the impudence to add, that the success of these fellows, “was unparralleled by what is called *regular practice*.” But, ask any man, who had the mortification to be a spectatōr of their operations, and he will tell you what

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\* AMONGST the numerous evils, which the spirit of equality has produced in the United States, the degradation of the *Clerical Character*, is not the least; and, amongst the causes, which have produced this evil, the admission of Negroes to the ministry has not been the least efficient. Philanthropick dreamers may say what they please; they may tell us, that we are all men, and all made by the same Almighty hand; but we see that this same Almighty hand has made some *white* and others *black*, and, 'till these two colours shall appear the same to our sight, we never shall believe that whites and negroes were intended to live upon an equality with each other. But, as if the degradation of the clergy were not completed by the admission of members of the African race, the abovementioned aid de camp of Rush, the Rev'd. Mr. Allen, joins to his profession of clergyman that of *chimney-sweep*; thus exhibiting an impious resemblance between the most vile, and most sacred functions; for, he is still dressed in *black*, whether in his clerical or his lay character, and he still obeys the injunction to *cry aloud and spare not*, whether he peeps from the pulpit or from the chimney, and whether his vociferations are directed against sin or against soot.



what bloody and dirty work they made amongst the infatuated creatures who submitted to their treatment.

WHEN the reader casts his eye on the wretched city ; when he sees Rush's *sister*, his pupils, and, perhaps, twenty apothecaries' apprentices besides, all making packets of mercury ; and when he sees the swift poison (for such mercury is, when improperly used) committed to the hands of old women and negroes, he will not be surprised at the fatal consequences : instead of astonishment at the vast increase of the bills of mortality, he will find ample occasion for thanksgiving that a single man was left alive.

BUT, Rush on the contrary, blessed God for the discovery he had made, and for the success of his practice. In his abovementioned letter to Dr. Rodgers of New York, he modestly observed that he had been " the unworthy instrument in the hands of a kind providence of recovering *more* than *ninety-nine out of a hundred* of his patients ;" and he had before, with not less modesty, publicly proclaimed in Philadelphia, that, with the aid of *his* remedies, the Fever was, " in point of danger and mortality, reduced to a level with the *measles*, the *influenza*, or a *common cold*." In his account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, a work written after he had had time to reflect, and to retract these assertions, he repeats them with additional effrontery, and thus deprives himself of all claim to an exemption from the charge of *intentional falshood*. He gives no *list* of his patients ;

patients; an omission not to be accounted for otherwise than by his assurance that such a list would give the lie to his assertions, and, of course, withdraw the only prop by which the virtue of his famous discovery was supported. The evasion, by which he attempts to account for this omission, is the most pitiful that ever suggested itself. "I regret," says he "that it is not in my power to furnish a list of them, for a *majority* of them were poor people, whose names are still *unknown* to me."— Can you believe this, reader? Can you imagine that this man, who was labouring with might and main to establish his reputation on the success of a discovery, to which he had prefixed his name, would omit to note down the names of those he cured? Recollect, too, that his system was opposed by other physicians; that the public had been cautioned against his practice, as against "*certain death.*" Under such circumstances, had he cured *more than ninety-nine out of a hundred*; nay, had he cured but ninety-nine out of a *thousand*, can you believe that he would have omitted to note down the *survivors*? He says a *majority* of his patients were poor people. But this did not prevent him from recording the names of the *minority*: and, besides, poverty does not deprive men of their *names*; nor are the names of the poor any longer, or more difficult to write down, than those of the rich. The Grand Discoverer had several underlings in his house, and though they did, indeed, die off pretty fast, in spite of the specifick powders, there was one, at least, I believe, left alive to take down the names of the patients.

patients. When I was in the army I frequently wrote from eight to ten-regimental muster-rolls in one day, amounting, in all to about four thousand names: Rush must have had a fearful trade, if his register would have had more work than this. Moreover, suppose that, contrary to the dictates of common prudence as well as to the laudable example of Dr. Perkins and all other great discoverers, the registering of the names had actually been neglected, 'till the very hour when the Doctor *regretted* that he could not furnish a list; how easily might he have repaired the loss by an advertisement in the news-papers, calling on all those who had been cured by him, to send their names to his house? He was not very delicate, God knows, in thrusting his remedies into vogue; and, why he should be more delicate in obtaining proofs of their wonderful effects, is, I think, hard to be satisfactorily accounted for. No doubt can be entertained, that his patients (I mean the *live* ones) would have rejoiced in an opportunity of bearing testimony to the virtue of those means by which they had been rescued from the jaws of death. Never did a healing discovery fail of success for want of certificates of its efficacy; on the contrary, wonder-working nostrums are always indebted for a great portion of celebrity, to the importance which each lucky patient attaches to his existence, and to the vanity which almost every one has, of appearing in print. I repeat, therefore, that a notification in the papers, would have received immediate attention; and that, the patients, whom the discovery

covery had left alive, would have vied with each other in a speedy communication of their names; unless, indeed, they were *all* in the state of the unfortunate woman, who was described to Rush by Dr. Woodhouse, and, “who *after* her recovery, “*could not recollect her name!!!*”—Poor souls! If the Doctor had advertised, few of them would, I am afraid, have recollected their names!\*

FORTUNATELY, however, for Philadelphia, and unfortunately for Rush and his discovery, a bill of *mortality* was kept by the officers of the city. This bill of mortality, compared with the vaunts of the Doctor will enable any one to form a tolerably accurate judgment, not only of the truth of his statements but of the saving effects of his remedies, as applied by himself and his numerous assistants.

THE Yellow Fever of 1793 broke out on the first of August, and from that day to the eighth of September the number of deaths had been various, once as low as three and once as high as forty-two. Now it was, that mercury and the lancet began to be put in motion, and I beseech you reader to mark their progress. “List! list! “O list!”

ON

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\* SEE Rush's Account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, page 64.—But, when the reader has taken a view of this Dr. Woodhouse, in the article entitled the “*Raving Rush-ite*,” in the next number, he will be able to judge pretty correctly of the degree of credit due to the statement of this subaltern reporter.

ON September the twelfth Rush began to recommend his powders by publick advertisement. He, at the same time, told the people not to leave the city; that there was no longer any danger, for that his discovery had put the Fever upon a level with the *measles*, the *influenza*, or a *common cold*. For some days previous to this the ravages of the Fever had become less alarming, the bill of mortality had fallen from forty-two to twenty-three per day; and, as Rush had reduced the disease, in point of danger, to a level with a *common-cold*, the poor Philadelphians, who were carried away by his noisy impudence, began to hail him as their deliverer from a calamity, which they now looked upon as nearly at an end. But, *Death*, who seems always to have had an implacable grudge against the Pennsylvanian "Hippocrates," persecuted him, in the present instance, with more severity than ever; for, from the day, on which Rush declared that his discovery had reduced the Fever to a level with a *common-cold*; from the day, on which he promulgated the infallibility of his nostrum, from that day did the bill of mortality begin to increase in a fearful degree, as will be seen by the following extract.

	DAYS.	DEATHS.
September	11th	23
	12th	33
	13th	37
	14th	48
	15th	56

	DAYS.	DEATHS.
September	16th	67
	17th	81
	18th	69
	19th	61
	20th	67
	21st	57
	22nd	76
	23rd	68
	24th	96
	25th	87
	26th	52
	27th	60
	28th	51
	29th	57
30th	63	
October	1st	74
	2nd	66
	3rd	78
	4th	58
	5th	71
	6th	76
	7th	82
	8th	90
	9th	102
	10th	93
	11th	119

Thus, you see, that though the Fever was, on the 12th of September, reduced to a level with a common cold; though the lancet was continually unsheathed; though Rush and his subaltern

erns were ready at every call, the deaths did actually increase; and, incredible as it may seem, this increase grew with that of the very practice, which saved more than ninety-nine patients out of a hundred! Astonishing obstinacy! Perverse Philadelphians! Notwithstanding there was a man in your city, who could have healed you at a touch, you continued to die! Notwithstanding the precious purges were advertised at every corner, and were brought even to your doors and bed-sides by Old Women and Negroes; notwithstanding life was offered you on terms the most reasonable and accommodating, still you persisted in dying! Nor did barely dying content you. It was not enough for you to reject the means of prolonging your existence, but you must begin to drop off the faster from the moment that those means were presented to you; and this, for no earthly purpose, that I can see, but the malicious one of injuring the reputation of the "saving Angel," whom "a kind providence had sent to your assistance!"

BUT, it was not only amongst the people in general that the Doctor met with this mortifying perverseness, even the members of his own household, those who dipped in the same dish with him, and who were to share in his honours, seem, in like manner, to have conspired against the fame of his discovery; for, of his sister and five pupils, all of whom were attacked with the Fever, *four* had the ingratitude to seal, with their death, the condemnation of his practice.

THIS

THIS fact, which the discoverer would doubtless have concealed, if he could, gave a mortal blow to the Rushite system. When the Doctor was called on, as he was repeatedly, for a *list* of his patients, he pretended he had kept none; when the dreadful increase of the bill of mortality was shown to have begun with the use of his remedies, he replied, that this increase was occasioned by the want of *timely* application, by that timidity which prevented patients from losing blood, or swallowing mercury, enough, and by a want of proper nurses. These reasons, though they could not possibly account for the *increase* of the bill of mortality, might, in some sort, account for its *not decreasing*, and might also, as far as they applied to the city in general, be opposed, with some plausibility to the charges brought against the *inefficacy* of the new discovery; but, they could, in no way whatever, be applicable to the brethren and sisterhood, who were not only fully persuaded of the virtue of, but were employed in preparing and administering, the infallible remedies, more especially to the happy few, who resided under the same roof with the "saving Angel" himself. These fortunate beings were, undoubtedly, kept in that state of preparation recommended in the Doctor's bills; they lived in a fine airy house, and wanted for no menial assistance; they could not suffer for want of a *timely* application of the remedies, for, besides that the great "Hippocrates" himself was always within call, each patient, the sister excepted, was himself a bleeder, and they all had the life-preserving purges continually  
under



under their fingers: yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, there died no less than *four* out of the *six*; and, as this is the only authentick record, from which a judgment can be formed of the Doctor's success, we have an undoubted right to proceed, in our calculation, from the known to the unknown, and to conclude, accordingly, that, instead of *saving* more than ninety-nine, he lost at least sixty-six, out of every hundred of his patients! And, to close the melancholy account, it does not appear, from a list which came out early in the Fever of 1797, under the signature of one of the *pupils* who had the good fortune to survive, that this triumphant practice, when carried to its full extent, saved or rather *spared*, more than 22 out of the hundreds and hundreds, who were said to have submitted to it!\* Well might Doctor Currie, call upon his fellow citizens "to *open their eyes!*" Well might he assure them that Rush's yellow fever remedies were "*certain death!*" †

SUCH

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\* THIS list was published in all the Philadelphia papers on the 14th September, 1797. It was signed by John Redman Coxe, and was intended to *remove the fears* entertained of copious bleeding; but, while the list itself proved, that the Rushites sometimes bled to a 100 or 150 ounces, it could produce but 22 persons who had been able to resist a bleeding of upwards of 50 ounces! Coxe did not perceive that he was establishing, in place of removing, the fears entertained of the practice. But, in mistakes of this kind, he only followed the example of his too sanguine preceptor.

† IF this be a libel, let Rush prosecute Doctor Currie Nay, let him prosecute himself; for, though Dr. Currie  
wrote

SUCH, reader, was the origin, and such were the first blessed fruits, of the far-famed *system of Depletion*. It remains for me to give my reasons for endeavouring to explode it, and to justify the means I made use of for that purpose.

IN the dispute of 1793, Rush was fairly defeated, notwithstanding he wrote more in the several news-papers than all the other physicians put together, and notwithstanding he plying his "dear Philadelphians," his "dear fellow citizens," with more than quantum sufficit of that oily lingo, for which he has long been renowned. His "dear fellow citizens" loved coaxing well enough, but they loved life better. Still resolved, however, not to acknowledge himself in an error, but to support

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wrote and published the condemnation, the great "Hippocrates" re-published it; and, according to the decisions of the courts of Pennsylvania, the *re-publisher* is the *greatest offender*. When Rush wrote his Account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, he was, as the saying is, upon his high horse. He had been so flattered by a set of mean parasites, of various professions, that he really began to think there was no other physician in the world worthy of the least attention. Hence he had the audacity to despise, or to affect to despise, the opinion of Dr. Currie, and was thus led to introduce into his own work, and to assist in giving circulation to, the severest sentence that ever was passed on his discovery. He seemed not to recollect, that Dr. Currie was a member of the College of Physicians, and that his opinion might have far more weight than his own. He verified, however (but certainly without intending it), the maxim laid down in his book; for, as if to prove to his readers that for every *evil* Providence had provided a counteracting *good*, he sent out his own *poison* accompanied with the *antidote* of Currie. Poor Rush has overshot himself oftner, perhaps, than any other man in existence.

support his practice if possible, he stopped 'till the fever was over, and then, like the famous physician of Validolid he *wrote a book*; that book to which this pamphlet is so largely indebted, and which produced an effect precisely the contrary of the one intended. Men could not be persuaded, even by the smooth tongue of Rush, that bleeding *almost to death*, was likely to save life.

WHEN, therefore, the yellow fever again broke out in 1797, "Hippocrates" and his pupils (who were the only persons that followed the practice) found very little to do. The "saving Angel" recommenced writing in the news-papers, but with somewhat less confidence and more caution than formerly. He did not (except in a few instances) address himself *directly* to his "dear fellow citizens," but published letters, sent to him by his brethren of the lancet practice, giving accounts of the great cures wrought by bleeding and mercurial purges.—Sometimes a letter from Rush to some other of the learned tribe would appear, preceded by a letter requesting information respecting his mode of practice. On these occasions the Discoverer seldom failed to expatiate largely on the virtue of his remedies and on the success of their application, always taking care to throw in a due portion of compliment to the skill of his correspondent, and of tender solicitude for the welfare of his "dear countrymen" and "dear fellow citizens." These systematic endeavours for reviving the practice were carried to such a shameless length; that there sometimes appeared

peared in print letters written to, and answers received from, physicians dwelling in the same city of Philadelphia, men with whom Rush was most intimate, and with whom he conversed, probably, ten times a day. What necessity was there for such men *to write* to each other? What could they write for, but the express purpose of publishing their letters in the papers? And what object could they have in view, in these indirect addresses to the public, but that of extolling their own practice, of advancing their own fame, and encreasing their own profits?

THESE tricks did not, however, pass unperceived. Many gentlemen of Philadelphia (not physicians) expressed to me their dread of the practice, and their indignation at the arts that were made use of to render it prevalent. They thought, and not without reason, that it was lawful, just, and fair to employ a news-paper in decrying what other news-papers had been employed to extol. In fact, I wanted very little persuasion to induce me to endeavour to prevent a revival of that which I had always looked upon as a scourge to the city, in 1793, and which now, I was fully persuaded, menaced the lives of my friends, my neighbours, my workmen, my customers, and, in short, of the people in general amongst whom I dwelt. Every thing seemed to threaten a return of the former consternation and calamity. The chariot\*  
of

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\* LEST the English, or any other, reader should attach  
the

of the mighty "Hippocrates," began again to rattle along the lanes and alleys; the sect of "undisciplined practitioners" were again taking the field; the Revd. Negroes had tucked up the sleeves of their gaberdine, were preparing to draw the lancet and throw away the scabbard. 'Purge and bleed! purge and bleed! resounded through the half-deserted city, while the responsive howlings of the dogs "gave dreadful note of preparation!"

FRIGID indeed must have been my feelings, or cowardly must have been my heart, if, with a publick print, such as I held in my hand, I had, in a scene like this, remained a silent spectator. Far was it from me to think of a course so dishonourable. I thought I saw approaching all the horrors of 1793, and, both my interest and my duty

the *English* signification to this word, and imagine that Rush really keeps a *chariot*, I must observe, that the thing I allude to is a queer looking hutch, big enough to hold only one man. - It has glass doors and windows, it is drawn by one horse, and has an elevated box, from which a negro-fellow lashes his poor four-legged fellow citizen. Just after the 5,000 dollar decision, the Rushites published a triumphal caricature, representing Rush with the above equipage, driving over a Porcupine, and squeezing out of its throat great quantities of *blood* and dollars. A New-Yorker, seeing this picture, unaccompanied with any explanation, mistook it for a representation of the *chariot of death, driven by the Devil!*

duty commanded me to endeavour to avert them.\*

FOR writing *medical* essays ; for controverting *scientifically*, the wild positions of Rush and his adherents, I acknowledged myself then, as I do now, totally unqualified. To the charges of ignorance in medicine, brought against me by the great Hippocrates, I might, indeed, have found a triumphant reply in his own book on the Yellow Fever ; I might have produced himself as a witness against himself ; I might have quoted the passages, where he asserts, that the success of the two negroes, in curing the Yellow Fever, was “ unparralleled by what was called “ regular practice ;” that a hundred things are taught in the common schools, less useful, “ and “ many things more difficult, than the knowledge “ that would be necessary to cure a Yellow “ Fever, or the plague ;” and that, “ all the “ knowledge necessary to discover when blood- “ letting is proper, *might be taught to a boy or “ girl of twelve years old, in a few hours !* I “ taught it,” adds he, “ *in less time, to several persons*

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\* MOSES Levi, one of Rush's lawyers, had the charity to suggest, that I, being a *royalist*, might possibly have hoped, by discrediting the Doctor's practice, to increase the mortality amongst the *republicans* ! Such a diabolical thought never could have been engendered but in the mind of a Jew ! But honest Mosev seemed to have forgotten, that I could not possibly want to kill *myself*. I cannot for my life, however, muster up any thing like anger against a poor devil like Moses ; he did not believe a word that he said ; he vash vorking for de monish, dat vash all.

“ persons, during our late epidemick !”—“ It is  
 “ time,” exclaims he in another place, “ to take  
 “ the cure of pestilential fevers *out of the hands*  
 “ *of physicians*, and to place it *in the hands of*  
 “ *the people !*”—I might have shown that he  
 very highly applauded the conduct of the Popish  
 Priest, who exhorted the *other* physicians “ to  
 “ renounce the pride of science, and *adopt*  
 “ *the new remedies.*” \*—I might, in short, have  
 proved most satisfactorily, that, according to  
 the written assertions of this impudent innova-  
 tor, I was duly and amply qualified to approve  
 of, or to condemn, any mode of treating the yel-  
 low fever ; and, indeed, had I been fool or knave  
 enough to join his troop of Mock-Doctors, I could  
 probably have talked very learnedly about “ *bleed-*  
 “ *ing as white as Jersey veal,*” about “ *washing*  
 “ *the guts,*” and “ *shaking the gall-bladder ;*” nay,  
 it is possible, that I could have equalled even the  
 Pennsylvanian “ Hippocrates” in that butcher-like  
 dialect, which is so admirably calculated to vul-  
 garize the medical profession and to brutalize the  
 human

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\* Rush says, however, that this infatuated quackish  
 divine *died* in this same Yellow Fever.—Fielding, in order  
 to give us an adequate idea of the extreme confusion ex-  
 perience by one of his characters, says it was as great  
 “ as that of a quack must be, if in the midst of a declamation on  
 “ the great virtues of his powders, the corps of one of his  
 “ martyrs should be brought forth, and deposited before  
 “ the stage, as a testimony of his skill ;” but, even Fielding  
 never supposed a case, wherein the corps of a quack himself  
 should be brought forth, in the like way, and for a similar  
 purpose !

human frame; but, I felt no inclination to imitate, in any way whatever, the “undisciplined sect of practitioners,” and, therefore, while I admitted the sober refutations of those medical gentlemen, who thought Rush worth their notice, I confined myself to squibs, puns, epigrams and quotations from Gil Blas.\* In this *petite guerre* I had an excellent auxiliary in M: Fenno, jun. or rather, Fenno was the principal and I the auxiliary. Never was a paper war carried on with greater activity and perseverance, or crowned with more complete success. It began about the middle of September, and, before October was nearly ended, the system of depletion was the standing jest of the town. Rush suppressed his mortification for a good while; he seemed to say that it was beneath a great physician, and a member of the *learned* philosophical society of Philadelphia, to be ruffled at what a couple of low news-mongers could say; but, at last, having been coupled, in a ludicrous way, with his dear friend Samuel Coats, a quaker philanthropist, brother Broadbrim and he,

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\* THE pleaders of Rush asserted, that my attacks were confined to the *man* and not to his *practice*; this, though the Jury affected to believe it, was *notoriously* false. It was *always* the practice and *never* the man, that I assailed. They asserted besides, that I never attempted a refutation of the *errors* of the practice, this was also notoriously false; for, if the puns and squibs were to be ascribed to *me*, so were all those excellent medical essays, which appeared in my paper, and for a specimen of which I refer the reader to the article in the present number, entitled: “The Ignorance of the Pennsylvanian Hippocrates exposed.”



he, after a *secret attempt* (which I shall mention by and by) had been made to silence our presses,\* laid their heads together, and “sent for a sinful man in the flesh, called an Attorney, to prepare “a parchment and carry us unto judgment.”†

(To be continued.)

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A BITTER PILL FOR THE RUSHITES.

IN the last number of Porcupine's Gazette, I observed that it was somewhat singular (and it really was so), that, on the 14th of December, on the same day, and in the very *same hour*, that a ruinous fine was imposed on me for endeavouring to put a stop to the practice of Rush, General Washington was expiring under the operation of *that very practice*. “While a fowler,” says the fable, “was shooting at a Ring-Dove, an adder “stung him in the leg. The poison immediately

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\* THIS *attempt* should be mentioned here, but, as it forms the first link of the chain of facts, which ends in the famous 5,000 dollar verdict, I shall reserve it for the next Number; requesting the reader, in the mean time, to suspend his curiosity, for that, any thing his imagination can conceive will fall greatly short of what I have to relate.

† THE defence of my publications (a little better one than Mr. Harper made) cannot come into this Number for want of room, certain anecdotes, lately received, respecting Dewees & Co. having made a considerable addition to it.

ly infected his blood, and his whole body began to mortify; which, when he perceived, he could not help owning it to be just. "Fate," says he, "has brought destruction upon me, while I was contriving the death of another."—Whether the Philadelphians look upon the loss of General Washington as a mortal blow to America, and, if they do, whether they will have the candour to make an acknowledgement similar to that of the Fowler, are points that I pretend not to determine. Indeed, I doubt not, that, in order to keep themselves in countenance, they will deny that any other treatment would have saved the General. I dare say they will deny that he was not treated according to the practice of their "Hippocrates." But, whatever the silly Philadelphians may believe, or pretend to believe, on this subject, I beg that other people will observe, and remember it well, that General Washington was not only treated precisely according to the famous *System of Depletion*, but that, *Doctor Dick*, one of the physicians, was a *pupil of Rush*.—Thus much by way of preface to the opinion of one of the most skilful physicians in America, the learned and experienced *Dr. Brickell* of Savannah.

*Observations on the medical treatment of General Washington, in his last illness; addressed to his physicians Messrs. Craik & Dick.*

The life of this illustrious personage has been so eminently beneficial and ornamental to the world, that every man who has a just value for virtue, talents, or an attachment to civil liberty, must lament his death.

The

The loss to his country, at this critical period, is incalculable; it is irreparable: we shall never look upon his like again!

I have perused the account published by his physicians, of their medical treatment, and differ from them so entirely in my opinion of its propriety, that, with all due respect for their good intentions, I think it my duty to point out what appears to me a most fatal error in their plan: and although it is not in the power of science to restore his precious life, yet a discussion of this case may be productive of benefit to mankind.

I suppose myself addressing men of science, whose minds are so highly cultivated as to comprehend my reasoning on this subject; which I shall make as short and clear as possible.

When we examine the human blood by optical glasses, by chemistry, and by experimental philosophy, we find it full of nourishment in young people; but effete and poor in the aged.

When we examine by anatomical injections, the state of the vesicular system, we find innumerable ramifications in the arteries through which the blood flows freely in young people; while many of their anastomoses are obliterated in the aged.

The blood of old people, therefore, being poorer, and the channels for conveying its nourishment fewer, is the reason that old people cannot bear bleeding so well as the young, and it likewise explains (what every man of science and experience must know) why a small bleeding has the same effect on an aged person, that a large bleeding has upon the young and robust.

These observations, founded on well established facts, demonstrate how guarded and circumspect we ought to be in the use of the lancet, when our patient is far advanced in life: and how actively we ought to employ our thoughts in  
devising

devising other methods than profuse blood-letting in such a case.

From what the physicians have published and other documents, we have data sufficient to ascertain how far the maxims derivable from science, experience and judgment, have governed in the present instance.

The duration of this illness was 20 hours; from 3, A. M., till after 10, P. M.

( A bleeder being sent for at the unusual hour of 3, A. M. we may suppose the operation was not performed until four o'clock; before eleven hours elapsed, he was bled again twice profusely; which must have been about eighteen ounces each time; and soon afterwards he was bled again to the amount of thirty two ounces.

Thus we see, by their own statement, that they drew from a man in the sixty ninth year of his age, the enormous quantity of eighty two ounces, or above two quarts and an half of blood in about thirteen hours.

Very few of the most robust youngmen in the world could survive such a loss of blood; but the body of an aged person must be so exhausted, and all his powers so weakened by it as to make his death speedy and inevitable.

Here the effect followed the cause precisely: the physicians soon observed the powers of life yielding; a loss of speech; and that he expired without a struggle! The excessive bleeding *had left him no strength to struggle!!*

After what has been said it may be expected that I should point out my plan:---I will speak generally, without descending to criticise on the minor parts of the treatment, which, however, I do not admire.

They ought to have attacked the disease as near its seat as possible: the vein under the tongue might have been opened; the tonsils might have been scarified; the scarificator and cup might have been applied on or near the  
thyroid

thyroid cartilage. One ounce of blood drawn in this way would relieve more than a quart drawn from the arm, and would not exhaust and enfeeble the body; in the same manner that an ounce of blood drawn at the temple, relieves an enflamed eye more than a quart drawn from the arm.

The neck might have been rubbed with warm laudanum and camphor; and a bag of warm fine salt laid on; but the unseasonable application of a blister would prevent this.

He ought to have been put into one, two, or three flannels; and instead of calomel, it would have been better to give him small draughts of hot whey, with a little laudanum, camphor, spirituous volatilis aromaticus, or spiritus nitri dulcis, occasionally, to remove the spasm which caused the dyspnea, and produce perspiration, which would relieve the lungs by turning the course of the fluids towards the skin.

JOHN BRICKELL.

Savannah, 23d Jan. 1800.

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A NOTE TO DOCTOR DICK.

Doctor,

I HAVE lately seen an account of the delivery of an Eulogium on General Washington, at Alexandria; and I could not help applauding the discernment of those, who chose *you* for the Eulogist; no man could be so fit to describe the life, as he who had so ably described the death, of that great man. The art of making Eulogiums, as well as that of producing subjects for them, you learnt, I suppose, from your preceptor, the Pennsylvanian "Hippocrates?" But, were  
you

you not humming us, Doctor, when you endeavoured to persuade us, that *fate* had some hand in the *fatal* work at Mount Vernon? You say, in your report, that the General was “*fully impressed at the beginning of his complaint as well as through every succeeding stage of it, that its conclusion would be mortal*”; submitting to the several exertions made for his recovery rather as a duty, than from any expectation of their efficacy. “*He considered the operation of death upon his system as coeval with the disease*”; and several hours before his decease, after repeated efforts to be understood, succeeded in expressing a desire, that he might be permitted to die without interruption.”—Would not this have sounded better from the mouth of a believer in the second sight, than from a disciple of “*Hippocrates?*”—Pray, Sir, read the letter of Dr Brickell, and I believe you will suspect that poor *Fate* had much less to do in the business than *you and your colleagues*.

#### P. PORCUPINE.

P. S. Don't you think it would be a good thing, Doctor, if the names and places of abode of all *Rush's pupils* were published? If you don't, I do; and I hereby request those who are possessed of information on the subject to communicate it to me, *post paid*.

THE

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THE IGNORANCE OF THE PENNSYLVANIAN  
HIPPOCRATES EXPOSED.

IN the former part of this number of the Rush-Light, where mention is made of the opinion of Rush, respecting the cause of the *spontaneous hæmorrhage*, the reader will find himself referred to the present article.

RUSH says, in his account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, page 275, "As a proof that I did not draw one ounce of blood too much, it will only be necessary to add, that hæmorrhages frequently occurred after a third, a fourth, and, in one instance, after a sixth bleeding had been used."—During the yellow fever of 1797, and just about the time, that the 5,000 dollar action was commenced against me, an underling of Rush, named Caldwell, published a letter to me, wherein he repeats the opinion of his preceptor, and uses the same argument in favour of copious bleeding. To this publication a Scotch physician, who was travelling through the United States, and who happened to be then at Philadelphia, made the following reply, by which the reader will be fully convinced, that the spontaneous hæmorrhage, in place of being *prevented*, is *produced*, by copious bleeding, and that Rush's proof of the *efficacy* of his remedy is, on the contrary, a proof of its *mortal effects*.

TO THE EDITOR OF PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE.

SIR,

In the list of misfortunes brought upon the city of Philadelphia by the prevailing epidemic, must be included, the degradation of its medical character. Previous to the appearance of this formidable disease, the Physicians of Philadelphia were esteemed the most eminent on the continent of America, they have since sunk from that state of exaltation to a condition bordering on contempt, in consequence of the rash practice and absurd publications of some of their body, and the injudicious silence of others. I do not mean to say, that every silly paper should have received a regular answer: Arguments evidently contemptible refute themselves. But it sometimes happens, that arguments sufficiently specious to impose upon readers of sound understanding, who are unacquainted with the nature of the animal œconomy, are brought forward for the purpose of supporting a very dangerous practice. In such a case it is the duty of professional men, who are better informed, to expose the fallacy of such reasoning, that the dangerous tendency of the doctrines attempted to be established by it, may be distinctly perceived.

These observations are meant to apply particularly to an argument which has been triumphantly employed by the Phlebotomists, both in writing and conversation, and very ostentatiously displayed by Doctor Caldwell, in his letter addressed to you, dated the 10th of October.

It is confidently asserted, that the spontaneous hæmorrhages, which frequently occur in malignant fevers, are solely occasioned by the omission of copious blood-letting; and as these excessive hæmorrhages appear in many cases to be the immediate cause of the death of the patient. We are told this fatal termination would have been prevented, if blood had been freely drawn at any preceding period of the disease.

This reasoning is so specious, that, in the minds of all those readers who are unacquainted with the anatomy and pathology



logy of the human blood, it must be decisive. They will be fully convinced that large and repeated bleedings must be the most effectual method of cure, in diseases where the blood is so superabundant as to burst spontaneously from the vessels: and the shafts of your ridicule will be directed in vain against a practice, apparently founded upon so firm a basis.

To detect the fallacy of this reasoning, it will be necessary critically to examine the facts upon which it is founded, and then to make a few observations upon the conclusions that have been drawn by the Phlebotomists, from those facts, in support of a practice replete with danger.

If those who employ this reasoning mean that, provided the vessels be completely drained of their blood, there will be no risk of spontaneous hæmorrhage, we admit the truth of the observation. For Conjurors tell us, where nothing is, nothing can come out; and it hardly requires a man to be a conjuror to give us that information. But if they mean to say such a quantity of blood, as may be drawn without producing a dangerous degree of debility in the patient, being taken away in the early part of the disease, or at any time preceding the spontaneous hæmorrhage, will prevent that hæmorrhage from taking place, it follows, that it is caused by the vascular system being overloaded, insomuch that the increased action of the vessels bursts a passage for the superabundant blood, and nature does too late what ought to have been earlier performed by the doctor. Hence it follows, that spontaneous hæmorrhages, in malignant diseases, must be most likely to occur when the vessels are fullest, and the vascular action most violent.

But is this really the case? Does spontaneous hæmorrhage most frequently occur at the commencement of malignant diseases, when the vessels are fullest, and the action most violent; or at their close, when the vessels are comparatively empty, and the vigour of the system exhausted?

Let us enquire what happens in a very formidable disease the Causus of Hippocrates, better known at Philadelphia, by a much dreaded name, the yellow fever of the West-Indies.

dies. This complaint commences with a febrile state of excessive ardor and violence, which continues generally from sixty to eighty hours, when the symptoms of violent action rather suddenly cease, and extreme debility marks the remainder of the disease,

I will ask Doctor Caidwell, and those who think as he does, whether, agreeably to their system, spontaneous hæmorrhages ought not more frequently to occur at the commencement, during the ardent state of this disease, when the vessels are fullest, than during the quiescent state, when the vigour of the system is exhausted, and the mere abstraction of food and waste by natural evacuations (supposing artificial ones to have been refrained from,) must have reduced the vessels to a state of comparative emptiness? As men of candour, they must answer in the affirmative.

I will then ask them whether spontaneous hæmorrhage really happens, oftner in the commencement than the close of the yellow fever? As men of veracity, they must, answer in the negative: nay, as men solicitous for the detection of error and the establishment of truth, they will go farther in their answer than is required by my question. They will admit, that, in every case of yellow fever, they have seen, heard or read of, in which this symptom has occurred, it has never appeared but in the last stage, or quiescent state. We must therefore cease to look for its explanation in the superabundance of blood, and fix our attention upon what appears to be its proximate cause, the extreme debility which prevails at the time of its occurrence.

That excessive weakness alone is sufficient to account for spontaneous hæmorrhage, will be completely proved by observing the frequency of its occurrence in a disease of pure debility, where there is no febrile action, and where, from the situation of those subject to the disorder at and preceding the commencement of it, there can be no reason to suspect fullness of the vascular system.--I allude to the scurvy. This complaint afflicts not only seamen in long voyages, who are obliged to subsist on alimant, the nutritive quality of which has been diminished by time and the mode of preservation, but it also aggravates the miseries of winter to the poorer inhabitants of northern climates.

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Among the symptoms of this shocking disease, none are so formidable as spontaneous hæmorrhages: they are apt to occur upon the slightest motion: sometimes the bleeding is external, sometimes internal, and frequently fatal. So slowly does death advance, from any other cause, in this disease, that should the wretched patient be so fortunate as to escape hæmorrhage, he may linger out a miserable existence, till the conclusion of the voyage, or the approach of summer enables him to procure sustenance more nutritious; and the danger of spontaneous hæmorrhage is removed by his returning strength, though accompanied by increased fullness of the blood vessels.

The blood does not escape, in these diseases, in consequence of violent action in the moving powers, or from any distension of the vascular system by the quantity contained, but from inability in the extreme vessels to resist the slightest impulse.

As I have shown the cause of the symptom, on which the strong argument of the phlebotomists is founded, to have been misunderstood, it can hardly be necessary to say the conclusion they have drawn must be erroneous.---Dr. Caldwell says, "In the occurrence of this spontaneous hæmorrhage nature undoubtedly gives an obvious hint which all physicians should have discernment and sagacity sufficient to improve. She would seem to tell them in the language of facts, that if they either through ignorance or inattention neglect, the evacuation of blood-letting entirely, or use the lancet in a manner not sufficiently bold, she must and will by means of this discharge make a final effort for the safety of the patient herself: It is however to be greatly lamented that she makes this effort in vain." Adopting the idea of Dr. Caldwell, that nature is the physician's kind directress, her hint may be explained more consistently with facts, by saying she intends by her conduct to caution the physician against bleeding in this disease, particularly at a late period, by shewing that it is always prejudicial, often fatal. But this idea of a *Vis Medicatrix Naturæ*, a power existing in the animal body capable of reflecting upon the nature of diseases and adopting the most rational method of cure, in which she kindly instructs attentive physicians, is too ridiculous for serious argument, and can only be

be intended *ad captandum vulgus*. Sound philosophy rejects with contempt such visionary notions.

Before I conclude this paper, Mr. Editor, it may be necessary (to prevent mistakes respecting the author) to say a little of what I am, and something of what I am not. I am a stranger, unacquainted with the Physicians of Philadelphia, and no ways interested in the success of parties or individuals. I am not a Phlebotomist of the school of Sangrado, nor am I an anti-phlebotomist: for though I think it improper to bleed my patients in Yellow Fever without measure and without mercy, yet I have met with many cases in which, from the constitution of the patient and degree of the fever, I have thought it right to draw blood in moderation at an early stage. I must therefore be considered an impartial observer, whatever may be thought of the soundness of my opinions; and if my sentiments appear to be inimical to the practice of the Phlebotomists, it cannot fairly be imputed to personal prejudice or partiality towards any of the individuals of either party, but must be attributed to a full conviction, in my own mind, that the extreme to which the Phlebotomists recommend their favorite remedy to be employed, is dangerous to their patients and discreditable to themselves.

Z.

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## THE LOAVES AND FISHES.

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### LETTER DEDICATORY.

*To his Excellency Thomas Mack Kean, Esqr.  
Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,  
Doctor of Laws, &c. &c. &c.*

Dear Doctor,

Though I thought it prudent to remove to New-York, before you began to purge the State, which is now become your patient, I have  
not

not been an unconcerned spectator of your operations: having left under your power many friends whom I loved most sincerely, it was as natural for me to turn now-and-then towards Pennsylvania, as it was for the affectionate Orpheus to look back towards hell. I have seen, in your conduct, many things to censure, and many to applaud. Of the former, because I know it would be disagreeable to you, I shall, at present, say nothing; and of the latter, want of time will prevent my saying much. I cannot, however, delay, even for a moment, to congratulate you on your *removals* and *appointments*, which, whether we consider them as to the *persons*, the *number*, the *time*, or the *mode*, reflect great credit on your discernment and your prudence. Your appointment of Shippen to the post of Chief Justice; the *time* of that appointment, and your retaining his son-in-law Burd in a lucrative office *held at your pleasure*, are so many proofs of your deep penetration, and they clearly evince, that, though you cannot be, at one and the same time, Governor and Chief Judge, you are not entirely unmindful of what may come to pass in the administration of Justice!—Your enemies do, indeed, accuse you of having driven from office a great many fine old revolutionary Whigs, who were serving in the field while you were living snugly in Philadelphia; but, these people do not, as you say, seem to recollect, that, if you did not use a sword or a musket, you were *far from being idle*; they do not consider, that, while they were, probably, only driving off or kill-

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the cattle of Tories, you were laying the iron hands of the law on the estates and the lives of the Tories themselves! For *these services* you were applauded by the very men, who *now* accuse you of *oppression*, because you have turned them out of place! When any one of them shall, in future, complain of your injustice, and shall dispute your pretensions on the score of revolutionary services, step from your chair of state, and thunder in his ear, with a voice as loud and terriffick as the last trumpet, "remember ROBERTS and CARLISLE!!!"

BUT, your enemies, not content with the censure abovementioned, have drawn an invidious comparison between your conduct and that of your "*patriotick predecessor*," as they are pleased to call him. Mifflin might be *patriotick* enough, for aught I know; but people seem to have forgotten, that he had his friends to serve, and that he served them too, as will appear from the following paper. You have, I believe, Doctor Mack Kean, frequently blamed *me* for handling the character of Mifflin so roughly; you called it *slander*; what, then, will you think of the article I am now going to lay before you? This article is of republican origin; it was handed me for publication (though I never published it) by Tom Bradford, who, to the best of my recollection, told me it was written by one of the *Rushes*. This article will be valuable to you on many accounts, but particularly as a proof of your only having trodden in the steps of your predecessor with respect to removals  
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from office; it will be valuable to the people of Pennsylvania, as a proof of the super-excellence of republican Chiefs and republican governments; and it will serve to reconcile the malcontents to your measures, by convincing them, that, from the "glorious 1776" to this day, from the quarrel between *you* and *Old Hopkinson*, about a post in His Majesty's Custom-house, to the present squabbles amongst the county Clerks, and Records, the great object of patriotick contention ever has been, **THE LOAVES AND FISHES.**

" *Reasons why the people of Pennsylvania ought not to re-elect Thomas Mifflin to the office of Governor.*

1st Reason.—His Excellency is openly abandoned to *lewdness and debauchery.*

2d. He is addicted to the low and illiberal vice of *swearing*; and upon a very noted occasion, outraged the feelings of decency and religion, by publicly profaning the name of the deity, in the most shocking manner.

3d. His public conversation at his own table, surrounded by company, is frequently so *vulgar, obscene and scandalous*, as to exceed description and almost belief.

4th. He makes a practice of breaking the *sabbath*, by giving entertainments upon that day, at the Falls of Schuylkill, and permitting fishermen to ply with their nets, in the river, directly in his view, contrary to the laws of God and man, and to the great injury of the morals of the people.

5th. He insults the religion and laws of his country  
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by his intire neglect of the public worship of the deity, and by his example induces others to do so.

6th. During his administration of near five years, two as President of the State, and almost three as Governor, he hath never instituted a day of thanksgiving for the innumerable blessings bestowed by the bounty of heaven, nor a day of fasting on account of the sins of the people, and the alarming growth of luxury, infidelity and vice of every kind.

N. B. This has been usually done by all good Governors, as by the late Governor Patterson, of New Jersey, and others.

7th. He has in repeated instances broke his *word*, and violated the most solemn *promises and engagements*. — *The following facts are sufficient to shew that this seventh reason is well founded.*

1st. He actually *swore* or solemnly *declared*, he would never commission *Mr. Daniel Montgomery*, of Northumberland, a Justice of the Peace, notwithstanding this, a few weeks ago, he sent him a commission to act in that capacity.

2d. In like manner he *swore*, or solemnly *declared*, he would not commission *Mr. Matthias Richards*, of Bucks county, but he has since made him a Justice of the Peace.

3d. Upon application to the Governor by *John Hoge*, Esq. of Washington county, (now a member of the Senate) to request he would not supercede *Mr. Scott*, the Prothonotary of that county, he informed *Mr. Hoge*, he would consider the matter; when at the very time of his saying so, he knew that he had signed a commission for *Mr. Reddick*, as the successor of *Mr. Scott*, and that this commission had been sent forward a few days before.

5th.



4th. *Previous* to his being elected Governor, he frequently declared he would not displace any person, without specific charges and proof against him, and soon *after* his election, upon application to supercede James Hanna, Esq. the Register of Wills for Bucks county, he not only refused but expressed a fixed resolution of not turning any person out of office, unless charges were made and properly supported. Notwithstanding these declarations and solemn engagements, he did soon after his election remove from their offices, the following persons, viz. *Mr. Scott, Charles Biddle, Esquire, Judge Atlee, Judge Rush, Caleb Davis, Esq.* the Prothonotary of Chester county, *John Cbrest, Esq.* the Register and Recorder of Berks county, and *James Fecks, Esq.* the Register of Lancaster county; against any of whom it is believed not a single charge was ever made, or proof given in support of it. Certain it is, they were never heard in their defence, nor had an opportunity of refuting the charges, if any were really made, after such public and notorious professions were repeatedly made, the news of their being displaced, must have astonished them, like a violent clap of thunder when not a cloud could be seen,

N. B. There is reason to assert that at the very *time* of his making the above declaration respecting James Hanna, Esq. he had gone so far as to give *assurances* to several persons that he would displace both Judge Atlee and Judge Rush.

5th. He solemnly promised Collenson Read, Esq. of Reading, that if a vacancy should happen in the County of Berks, he would appoint his *Father*; a respectable old Gentleman who had once held the office of Prothonotary in that county, and has relinquished it, only to serve his country in a more important station—I say, he not only made the promise abovementioned, but upon Mr. Read's observing, that it would be proper for his Father (who then lived in that city) to remove to Berks County, that

that he might qualify himself to hold an office by a year's residence; he replied there was no necessity for it; he would appoint him without his residing a year in the county—Notwithstanding all this, upon the death of the late *Prothonotary*, he refused to appoint *Mr. Read's Father*, and assigned as the reason his *not having resided* a year in the county. Other instances under this 7th general reason can be brought forward—but let these suffice.

8th. He commissioned *David Harris, Esq.* one of the associate Judges of Dauphine county, tho' he had not been "a citizen and inhabitant of the county one year before his appointment," which he knew was required by the *constitution* he hath sworn to execute,

9th. He kept *Jacob Bower* and *John Chrest, Esq.* of Berks county, dancing attendance upon him in this city, about two weeks, giving to each of them alternate expectation and assurance, that he should have the office of *Register* and *Recorder* of Berks; and finally told them they must go together and settle the matter themselves. This irresolution, and these expressions, produced a sale of the office, from *Mr. Chrest* the former owner, to *Mr. Bower* the present possessor, for the sum of 200l. payable in four years at 50l. a year.

10th. So much intoxicated was he by success of his Election, and so eager to display his power, that he forgot all regard to public decency, and to the memory of the late *Judge Bryan*, by nominating (tho' not actually commissionating) a successor in the office, not only before the body was interred, but immediately after his death was announced by *Doctor Hutcheson*.

Such indecency in transacting Public Business, such disrespectful treatment of the *remains* of an old and faithful servant of his Country, would be only aggravated by

11th. The character of the person who was thus hastily appointed in his stead, viz. *Judge Shippen*. This gentleman, disaffected to his country during the late struggle for Liberty, had remained in this city with the British army, is the father-in-law of *General Arnold*, and paid his respects to *General Howe* to congratulate him on his arrival in this city.

The cause of Freedom and virtue had surely been enough insulted, when he was made President of the Court of Common Pleas of the city and county of Philadelphia. But our Governor thought otherwise; and therefore raised him to the highest seat of judicial authority in the state.

12th. He hath not only promoted the disaffected, but in the instance of *Judge Rush*, he displaced a staunch friend and supporter of the *Revolution*, to make way for a character of a very different description, viz. *Mr. Yates* of Lancaster. There is nothing like this to be found in the conduct of the President of the United States. It is one thing to bring forward persons unfriendly to the principles of the *Revolution*; and quite a different thing, to dismiss the well affected, to make way for them. *General Washington* never removed a whig from office, and advanced a tory in his room. It is therefore ridiculous to compare the conduct of the Governor of this state, with that of the President. Happy would it be for Pennsylvania, if their characters were more alike. Darkness and Light are not more at variance.

13th Reason.—In an *arbitrary* and *tyrannical* manner he superceded Judges *Atlee* and *Rush* as Judges of the supreme court, and still more cruelly and tyrannically compelled them into inferior stations; making thereby a wanton and merciless attack upon their feelings, their reputation, and their fortunes. In the histories even of Russia and Turkey, it would be impracticable to find an instance of power exerted in a manner so perfectly savage

vage and despotic, accompanied at the same time with circumstances of such peculiar *treachery*. See this perfidy in the 5th *reason* under the 7th general head.—He who commits a single deliberate act of *tyranny*, is as completely a *tyrant* as the *man* who commits a single deliberate act of *stealing*, is a *thief*. It is the disposition that is seen in both cases.

14th Reason.—The wrathful and vindictive passions of the *man*, influence his conduct as a *public officer*. Under this head I shall mention two or three facts that are well known to be true,

1. Soon after his election, a recommendation in behalf of *Joseph Magoffin, Esq.* as a justice of the peace in the Southern Liberties, being presented to him, he instantly declared with the utmost *violence of language*, he never would appoint him; *for he had opposed him at his election*. N. B. We have never yet heard of the *Governor's* breaking *this promise*; probably because the offence of exercising the *right* vested in *Mr. Magoffin* by the constitution, of voting for and supporting his antagonist is an unpardonable one in his opinion.

2. *Dr. John Otto*, of Reading, was a justice of the peace *previous* to the *election* of the *Governor*, and very highly esteemed for the spirited execution of his office. It so happened, some years ago, that a collector of taxes lodged a list of delinquents in the hands of the Doctor to be collected agreeably to law. In this list was the name of *Thomas Mifflin, Esq.* who was accordingly notified of it by a polite message from the justice, and upon whom he waited soon after, with every appearance of being much *disturbed* and *agitated*.

*Doctor Otto* was never commissioned as a justice of the peace, *after* the *election* of the present *Governor*.

3. *Mr. Scott* of Washington having made use of some expressions that were supposed to be offensive, the power  
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of the Governor was employed as the means to execute the last resentment of the private individual.

The Judge who from the bench pronounces an unjust judgment, and perverts the law to gratify the malice of his heart, violates his duty and oath. Nor can that Governor be deemed guilty of a less crime, who, availing himself of the power his station gives him, wickedly prostitutes it to the ruin of a worthy officer, for no other reason, than because the officer may have affronted him, or injured his feelings as a man.

15th. The appointment of a person, who signs his name *A. J. Dallas*, to the important post of secretary of the commonwealth; the indecency of which is too glaring to need comment, especially as his behaviour has always justified any sentiment originally entertained respecting the measure. That there were other persons equally qualified for this office nobody can doubt: but it was naturally supposed, with manners more congenial, an exotic secretary would be more devoted. Accordingly we now see him desperately engaged under the signature of *Atticus* in an attempt to defend what no other person in his senses can possibly think defensible. Were it not that *this Man* is secretary, I flatter myself there would not be found one solitary writer in Pennsylvania abandoned enough to take up his pen, to vindicate the still more abandoned character and conduct of its present chief magistrate."

HERE ended the paper; but, to all these reasons, why Mifflin ought not to be re-elected Governor, Bradford might himself have added one, and a very weighty one too; to wit: *because his brother wanted the post!*—Loaves and Fishes again!

WE see, too, that the displacing of *Rush's brother*, the Judge, forms the principal article of accusation

accusation against Mifflin. If Judge Rush had been promoted to the bench of the Supreme Court, if Tom Bradford had not been deprived of a lucrative branch of printing business by the Governor, and if, at the same time, William Bradford (brother of Tom and a relation of Rush) had not felt a call to supply the place of Mifflin, this poor fellow would have been a "saving angel," instead of a devil incarnate.

THOSE who have been constant readers of my writings, will recollect that I never inserted the above republican communication, either in my pamphlets or my paper. As to the *facts* against Mifflin, I shall leave them, as I did those advanced by the *grateful* Mease, entirely without comment. Whether they were well-founded, or not, the *motives* from which, in both instances, they were communicated to me, were such as prevented my making use of them, though frequently urged to do it. Tom Bradford owed great obligations to both Mifflin and Dallas, and much as I disliked these men, my mind revolted at the idea of becoming the cat's-paw of his mean underhand revenge.

AFTER Bradford had settled with me for the *one shilling and seven pence half-penny*, the neat proceeds of one of my pamphlets; he sent his son Saml. the present Editor of the paper called the "*True American*," to wheedle me out of the above communication; but, whatever other faults I may have, that of *letting-go my hold* is not one. I told the "*True American*," that it would be of

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no use to his father, that more of the same grist might easily be gotten at the same mill, and that this little sample might serve me, should a surfeit of lierty send me back to the "insular Bastile," as a triumphant proof of the excellence of republican governments and republican morals. Thus, I should, probably, never have used it otherwise than to amuse my children, when, in my old age I should have been describing to them the storm I encountered while they were in the cradle; but, as the Philadelphians have charged *me* with calumniating their great men, as they have laid on me the monstrous, the ruinous fine of 5,000 dollars, and as this very "*True American*" Bradford has published their charge against me, and even *justified their verdict*; as this is the case, I trust I shall be excused for troubling the world with what would, otherwise, have been confined to my own chimney-corner.

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#### A HINT TO SAMUEL COATS.

COATS, you are one of my bitterest persecutors; you were one of the advisers of the prosecution against me; you shook me by the hand and smiled in my face at Bustleton, while you were daily back-biting me at Abingdon. Your Nephew was one of the 5,000 dollar jury; you appiaud the attempt to ruin me, and the reason you give is, that I am a *calumniator*, and that it is time to put a stop to calumny.—Now Coats, hear  
 O me.

me.—I will show, in another Number of this work, what *Saint Coats*, can do in the *calumniating way*; and, if you will take my advice, you will, in the mean time, prepare yourself a lodging in the famous mansion, of which you are the manager. \*

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THE PHILADELPHIAN HORNET'S NEST.

MY first Taper gave light into the nest, and, when the last advices came away, the *Hornets* were pouring out upon the spectators. The Sovereign people of Philadelphia (whom, by the by, I begin to forgive) have it seems, had rare sport. They have found the Rush-light as productive of strange sights as a magic-lantern, and, have, of course, run after it in crowds.

VERY different, however, have been the speculations of the Rushites: they have been plotting vengeance, and, as it generally happens to them, they have failed.

ON Friday last one of them published, in the  
paper

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\* To obviate any misconstruction of the expressions I may make use of in speaking of this Quaker, I now declare, once for all, that I highly respect the Quakers *in general*. I believe that this sect has, in Pennsylvania, a greater proportion of truly honest and benevolent men than any other sect, and I know, that, though it contains some most malicious hypocrites, it also contains some of the kindest and most sincere of human beings.



paper of those two base wretches, *Brown* and *Relf*, the following most infamous libel against me.

“ COMMUNICATION.

“ Mr. Cobbett has asserted, both in his farewell Gazette and in a late advertisement, that all his property in this city has been taken in execution and sacrificed at public Vendue, [at the suit of Dr. Rush: *this is not so*; not an article belonging to him has been sold at this suit---but it is a fact, notwithstanding his many boasts of punctuality in the discharge of his debts, that *all his goods* found in this city *were seized by the executors of his landlord for house rent disgracefully left unpaid by him*, and it is also a fact, that the whole amount of the sales arising therefrom, has not been sufficient to satisfy that claim.”

“ Any one questioning the truth of this statement, is referred to the Sheriff's Office, where it will be seen, that all the monies raised by execution, does not exceed the sum of *three hundred and thirty dollars.*”

THE reader will remember, perhaps, that I stated in my last news-paper, that they had seized, belonging to me, and sold for *about four hundred* dollars what should have brought, at least about a thousand. He will now please to read a statement made to the above communication, by Mr. John Morgan, of Philadelphia; and, when he has read it, let him say if the hottest hell be not too cool for the author and publishers of the article to which it is a reply.

“ MESS. BROWN & RELF,

“ You will please to insert the following statement of facts in answer to a *communication*, which appeared in your paper of Friday last, and oblige

“ Your humble servant,

Monday Evening, March 3.

“ JOHN MORGAN:  
WHEN

WHEN Mr. Cobbett was about leaving this city for New-York, I undertook to receive the monies which were to be collected for him by Mr. Douglas: and to sell at public auction some goods that were left at his house. On or about December the 14th, the articles were advertised for sale by Mr. Connolly the auctioneer. The morning intended for the sale, Douglas attended, and having placed some of the goods before the door, was waiting for the auctioneer, when the under sheriff made his appearance, and seized the goods, by virtue of an execution, *for the benefit of Doctor Benjamin Rusb.* While the officers were taking an inventory of them I was sent for; as soon as I saw what was going forward, I thought proper to wait on Messrs. Elmslie and Bacon, Executors of the Estate of John Oldden, deceased, and *requested them to attach the goods*, as they had an undoubted right as a security in part for the rent that was due. *This they declined doing, unless I would write to Mr. Cobbett, and inform him that they did it at my particular request.* I consented to write as they desired, when they brought a constable and took an inventory of what was on the premises. What arrangement took place between them and the Sheriff I am not clear in; but it is certain that the goods were afterwards sold by the Sheriff, *by virtue of Rusb's Execution*, although the proceeds were paid to the executors, after deducting the costs of suit, the commission, and other incidental expences; which would have been improper, had they not been sold by virtue of the above said Execution.

When Mr. Elmslie waited on the Sheriff for the proceeds of the sales, the latter refused to pay for more than the arrears of three months, although there was more than five months rent due, until he had taken the advice of Mr. Lewis, *attorney for Dr. Rusb.* The attorney advised to pay the balance of the proceeds after deducting the costs of execution, &c. The monies which Mr. Elmslie received were first two hundred and fifty dollars; then sixty four dollars; those two sums added to costs of suit, commission, advertising, and other incidental expences, *amount to the sum Mr. Cobbett mentioned in his advertisement as the total of the sales.*

By this brief statement the candid reader will see that the goods were sold *by virtue of Rusb's execution*; that the Executors

cutors of John Oldden *declined having any thing to do with the business, until I had satisfied them that any censure which might arise from it should attach to me; and that they were not uneasy about the payment of the rent.*

JOHN MORGAN.

This statement, which is as clear as the head and as true as the heart of the man who signs it, leaves me very little to say as to the falshood or the malice of my enemies. I must, however, observe, for the information of those, who may not have seen my farewell Gazette, that, when I came from Philadelphia, I left about 2,500 dollars to collect; and about 800 dollars to pay; that my house-rent, which would have been paid long enough before if we could have ascertained the day of giving up the house, was to be paid the moment that day arrived. Before it did arrive, however, Rush obtained his famous judgment, and made a seizure, as Mr. Morgan has related. That Mr. Elmslie was under no apprehensions the reader will clearly perceive; for, *after* he had heard of the ruinous 5,000 dollar verdict, *after* he knew that the judgment against me was sent onto New-York, ~~say~~ *after* he saw the sheriff in the house, such was his confidence in my honesty; and such was his delicacy towards me, that he would not even *then* have exercised the right of a landlord, had he not been pressed to do it *for my sake*. Not only did he require to be solicited, by Mr. Morgan, to put in his prior claim, but he, at last, consented to do it, only upon condition that Mr. Morgan would write to *me*, and *inform me that he (Elmslie) did it at Mr. Morgan's particular*

*particular request.* Would Mr. Elmslie have had these scruples if he had suspected my honesty? Would he have been thus delicate, thus fearful of hurting my feelings, if I had left my “*house rent DISGRACEFULLY unpaid?*”

BUT, says the reader, who is the infamous slanderer? Tell me who he is, that I may hate him!—And, can you be at a loss to know him? After what you have read in these two numbers, can you imagine that such base revenge could ever be conceived by any one but a RUSH?—It was *Richard Rush*, the self same *lawyer*, who, in order to support the honour of his profession and his dram-shop family, came on express to New-York with the 5,000 dollar judgment; it was one of the “*nice-feeling generous sons*” of the “*most unoffending and most benevolent*” Doctor Rush.

THE malignant slanderers were astonished when they saw Mr. Morgan’s statement. They thought that Mr. Elmslie, seeing the vile work that was going forward, had, like a prudent man, stepped in and laid claim to my goods. Sure, in their own minds, that this was the case, they thought that the falshood they had hatched could never be completely refuted. Little did they imagine, that Mr. Elmslie had made the seizure at my agent’s request, and *to oblige me*; when, therefore they saw this, they were alarmed, they were confounded, and blasted. Ever as mean as malicious, they now retracted, and the poor cat’s-  
paw

paw Richard Rush, went to my friend Morgan and read a *recantation*, which he published in Brown and Relf's paper of the next evening, and which I would here insert, were it not beneath me to offer, in defence of my character, any thing from the vile hand of a *Rush*.

THUS, you see reader, that my enemies have fallen into their own pit, and that, at every struggle, they plunge themselves deeper and deeper in disgrace.—When I saw my friend Morgan's defence of my reputation, and particularly when the next news-paper brought me the proofs of his triumph, I could not help exulting, in the words of King David:—“ Let them be ashamed and brought to confusion together that rejoice at mine hurt; and let them shout for joy, and be glad, that favour my righteous cause !”

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POST SCRIPT.

RUSH's lawyers told the philanthropick jury, that, if they assessed but moderate damages, the decision would tend to discourage men from appealing to the law again, and that the city would be *disturbed and disgraced by quarrels and fighting*; but, that, if they made me “ a blighted picture of ruin,” they would *prevent personal violence*. The philanthropick jury listened to the advice, and certainly did their best to make me “ a blighted picture of ruin;” but their verdict, so far

far from having had a tendency to promote peace and good neighbourhood, has set all Philadelphia in an uproar. The first Number of the Rush-Light has produced several quarrels, two assaults, and two or three fresh prosecutions!—"That's true," says the philanthropick jury, "but it is your Rush-Light, Peter, and not our verdict, that has made the mischief.—It is not *our* fault that you write."—No, ye precious dozen, it assuredly is not! It is not your fault that I am not in jail, and that my wife and children are not begging their bread from door to door! No, no, it is not your fault that I have either the spirit or the means to write and to publish; but it is your fault that I have the blood-stirring *subject* to write upon.—Thus much by way of hint to you. \*

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\* I INTEND to accompany the Number in which I close the account of the prosecution, with lists of this philanthropick Jury, printed on large cards, that they may be nailed up over chimney pieces, and in other conspicuous places. But, lest he who reads this Number should never read another, I shall just insert the names here, to wit:—

*John Paxton*, hardwareman, No. 10 south 3d street. *Wm. Jolly*, ironmonger, No. 11 Arch street; *Joseph S. Lewis* (nephew of Saml. Coats), merchant, No. 25 Dock street. *Isaac Austin*, watchmaker, No. 7 Arch street. *Thos. W. Armat*, shopkeeper, No. 21 North 2d street. *George Thompson*, shopkeeper, 129 North 3d street. *Jacob Sperry*, Junr. looking-glass-man, No. 195 market street. *John Taggart*, merchant, No. 5 and 11 North Water street. *William Roberts*, house carpenter, No. 136 Chesnut street. *Archibald Bingham*, shopkeeper, No. 32 North 2d street. *Jacob Rees*, shopkeeper, No. 151 North 3d street. *Benjamin F. Garrigues*, Grocer, No. 118 South 2d street.

TO JAMES M'HENRY, ESQR. SECY. AT WAR;

SIR,

ON Saturday, the 8th inst. a man, calling himself *Capt. Still*, belonging to the Artillery, stationed at Fort Jay, came to my house, to call me to account, on the part of Lieut. Rush, about a passage in the first number of the *Rush-Light*. He was armed "*à la mode de Rush*," to wit: with a *bludgeon cane*, which, as it had an *iron poker* to encounter, remained quiet in his hand; and so the noble Captain marched off without beat of drum.—I do not address this to you, Sir, by way of *complaint*; for, I am prepared for *defence* against unlawful violence of any and of every sort. But, Sir, notwithstanding all the ingratitude and injustice I have met with, I am still a friend to America; I still feel a sincere attachment to the Federal government, and, it is from my anxious desire to see the measures of that government prevented from becoming odious in the eyes of all descriptions of people, that I take the liberty to give you the above information.—Be assured, Sir, that men will not long be content to pay taxes for the support of bullies to come and interfere with their business, insult them in their houses, and terrify their wives and their children.

FAR be it from me to insinuate, that conduct, in the military, such as I have described, ever was approved of by the Government, and I feel a confidence, Sir, that, for the honour of the Army itself, it will, in the present instance, meet with marked disapprobation.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most humble and obedt. Svt.

N. York, March 10, 1800.

W. Cobbett.

THE two first Numbers of the Rush-Light goes to England to-morrow, by His Majesty's Packet: As I have given directions to my correspondent, Mr. Wright of Piccadilly, to re-publish them regularly, on my own account; and, as it is possible that the re-publication may yield some little matter towards a reparation of my loss, I trust that no bookseller in Great Britain will do any thing to thwart my interest; and I further trust, that every loyal Briton, whether Book-seller or not, into whose hands the work shall fall, will use the utmost of his endeavours for giving it circulation.

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PORCUPINE'S WORKS will be published in LONDON. Rush's destructive seizure at Philadelphia nearly spoiled that part of the edition, which was printed there, and I find that the duty on the sets to be sent to England, Jamacia, &c. would amount to more than the print and paper of what I have already done. The work will, besides, be done better in London; and, in that City, there are no *philanthropick* juries.—Part of the copy is already sent forward. To get the work out here will unavoidably take some time; but I trust that the increase of matter, which that time will give rise to, and the great advantages to be derived from perfect freedom in the printing and publishing, will be looked upon as an ample compensation for the delay. If, however, there be, amongst the few American subscribers who have paid in advance, any one that dislikes the alteration of my plan, I am ready upon the first intimation, to return him his money.

END OF No. II.—MARCH 10, 1800.



# ADVERTISEMENTS.

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The Swiftsure Line of Stages,

*Running from New York and Philadelphia,*

By the shortest, cheapest, safest, and most pleasant road,

Through Newark, Springfield, Scotch Plains, Union Camp, Bound-book, Millstone, Pennington, Newtown, Bustleton, and Frankford.

## THE SWIFTSURE

Starts from New-York at 9 o'clock every day (Sundays excepted) and arrives at Philadelphia, early the next evening.

From Philadelphia it starts from the Green Tree, No. 50 North Fourth street, at 8 o'clock every morning, and arrives at New York early the next evening.

Fare for passengers 5 dollars, way passengers 6 cents per mile. Each passenger allowed 14lb of baggage. One hundred and fifty weight of baggage to pay the same as a passenger.

All baggage to be at the risk of the owner, unless insured and receipted for by the clerks of the different offices. Rate of insurance one per cent.

\* \* \* Apply to WILLIAM VANDERVOORT, No. 48 Courtland Street, N. E. Corner of Greenwich Street, New York, and to JOHN M'CALLA, No. 50 North Fourth Street Philadelphia,

JUST

JUST PUBLISHED,  
And for Sale by the booksellers in New-York, Philadelphia and  
Baltimore.

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## A SKETCH

OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE

# YELLOW FEVER,

In the Year 1799;

With Evidences of its *Foreign Origin*, and of the different modes  
of treatment.

To which is annexed,

Two interesting Letters from *Doctor D. Hosack*, Professor of  
Botany and Materia Medica in Columbia College, respecting the  
origin of the Yellow Fever in New-York, and the most efficaci-  
ous mode of treating that disease.

By WILLIAM CURRIE,

Fellow of the College of Physicians, and Memb. of the Am.  
Philosophical Society.

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## THE PURSUITS OF LITERATURE; -

WITH A DEFENCE OF THE WORK,

And a translation of the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian  
quotations, is now in the press of

M. JOHN DICKINS OF PHILADELPHIA,

And will make its appearance some time in the month of  
April. The specimens which the public have already seen of  
the neatness and correctness of Mr. Dickins's press, are sufficient  
to procure encouragement to this new, great and laudable un-  
dertaking.

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PORCUPINE'S WORKS will be published in LONDON. Rush's de-  
structive seizure at Philadelphia nearly spoiled that part of the edition, which  
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great advantages to be derived from perfect freedom in the printing and pub-  
lishing, will be looked upon as an ample compensation for the delay. If,  
however, there be, amongst the few American subscribers who have paid in  
advance, any one that dislikes the alteration of my plan, I am ready upon the  
first intimation, to return him his money.

☞ All applications to be supplied with these works, are requested to be  
made *before the first of May next*, because, at that time, the number of sets  
to be brought to America will be fixed on.

NOTIFICATIONS

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THE  
*Rush-Light.*

15th MARCH, 1800.

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BEING THE THIRD NUMBER OF VOLUME I.

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RUSH AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

(Continued from page 81 of No. II.)

“ Can the *Rush* grow up without mire ?  
“ —Whilst it is yet in his greenness,  
“ and not cut down, it withereth before  
“ any other herb.—So are the paths of  
“ all that forget God ; and the *hypocrite's*  
“ hope shall perish !”

JOB. c. viii. v. 11, 12, 13.

*A Defence of the Publications on which the action  
of Rush was grounded.*

**T**HAT a low-bred fellow, like *Rush*, whom the troubled motions of revolt had brought bubbling up from the mud of society ; that a fellow, who had extolled his drugs in news-papers, pamphlets and books, without number, and who  
Q had

had, in these various publications, not only ridiculed, decried and abused both the practice and the persons of the first medical gentlemen in the country, but had contemptuously placed them beneath his herd of "undisciplined practitioners," his auctioneers, his negroes and his old women; that such a mushroom being, such a notorious despoiler of the medical character, should have the assurance to appeal to the law, the moment his own practice was assailed, would have excited universal indignation amongst any people but the poor, tame, trodden-down citizens of Philadelphia, and must appear totally unaccountable to every foreign reader, 'till I have, by and by, explained the circumstances, under which the action was commenced, and under which it was foreseen it would, first or last, be decided.\*

The

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\* RUSH was advised by *Ingersol*, one of his lawyers, to drop this suit; but, the meek, the kind, the unoffending, the benevolent Rush, knew better thing.---And this is a proper place to give a striking instance or two of the dissimulation of this man. As to *war* he always pretended to be a quaker, 'till he had a son big enough to ask a commission for! See his silly plan of what he calls a *Peace-Office* of the United States.---But an instance of insincerity, more to my present purpose, is to be found in his canting address to the Clergy, where he says:--- "*Law-Suits* should be discouraged as much as possible. It is with inexpressible pleasure that I have lately seen an account of a recommendation from the presbyterian synod to the churches under their care, to settle all disputes after the manner of the primitive christians and the *friends*," [a slobber for the quakers,] "by arbitration. Blessed event in the history of mankind! may their practice spread amongst all sects"

THE commencing of the action proves, however, that the practice of the impudent innovator had received a mortal blow; it proves that the publications, for which I was sued, were *efficacious*; and, that they were *not unlawful*, I trust, notwithstanding the decision of a Philadelphian court and jury, I shall find but little difficulty in making appear to the satisfaction of every man who is not an idiot or a prostituted knave.

IN making this defence, I shall suppose myself in the court, and having heard the evidence and the pleadings, replying to the whole that was urged against me. As I shall use the words, "*Gentlemen of the Jury,*" I beg leave to premise, that the  
word

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"sects of christians, and may it prove a prelude of that happy time foretold in scripture, when *war* and murder shall be no more."---There he is again!---That's the canting Rush!---But, when his professions are brought to the test, when he is urged to put them in practice, he laughs at those who were foolish enough to think him sincere. He could not find words to express his pleasure at hearing that the synod had protested against law-suits, but he could not be persuaded, even by his confidential lawyer, to forbear going to law himself. The truth is, Rush is notorious for the litigiousness of his disposition; and there are few men, even amongst the spiteful and wrangling crew that he is connected with, who have brought so many actions, who have been so often in the court, as himself.---Observe, too, that this meek-minded moralist, who, in conjunction with his quaker friends, has been constantly hatching some *peace-making* project; observe, I say, that this love-seeking saint, who feels such yearnings, such gripings and bowel-hankering; for "the *blessed time* when *war* and *law-suits* shall be no more," has, out of two sons, made shift to fabricate a *Lieutenant* and a *Lawyer*!!

word *gentlemen* will be admitted, on this occasion, for form's sake only.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

I RISE to defend a man, remarkable for his frankness, against the under-hand machinations of hypocrisy ; I rise to defend, against a charge of slander, a man who has been slandered without measure and without mercy ; I rise to defend an honest, loyal, and public-spirited Briton against the false and calumnious suggestions of private malice, political prejudice, and national antipathy.

I SHOULD degrade the character of the defendant by comparing it with that of *Doctor Rush*, or by submitting it to *your* investigation. To the malignant aspersions of Hopkinson, Levi and Ingersol I shall, therefore, make no reply ; but shall confine myself to the subject with which alone you have, on this occasion, any thing to do.

MR. Cobbett stands charged with having, during the prevalence of the yellow fever of 1797, published certain false and malicious slanders against Doctor Rush. The *printing* and *publishing* the defendant would rather cut his head off than disown, but the *falsehood* and *malice* imputed to him he utterly denies.

MUCH might be said as to the extent of the words, cited in the declaration. It would, I believe, be very difficult to make out such an application

plication as would, according to the strict letter of the law, establish any one of the charges preferred by the plaintiff. But, the defendant scorns to take shelter under a subterfuge: it is for his enemies to have recourse to the perversion of the law. He is proud to acknowledge, that all the censorious expressions, of which he is, on this occasion, accused of having published, were not only published by him, but were pointed at Doctor Benjamin Rush; and, moreover, that they were not only pointed at Rush, but were so pointed for the express purpose of destroying his practice, so far as that practice corresponded with the well-known and justly-aborred System of Depletion.

NEITHER will I distract your minds (which, God knows, are by nature sufficiently confused) by controverting the unfair constructions of the opposite council. I shall admit most of the meanings which they have attributed to the words of the defendant, and those which I do not admit I shall clearly prove not to exist.

THE defendant stands charged,

1. With calling Doctor Rush a *vain boaster*.
2. With calling him a *quack*.
3. With calling him *Sangrado*.
4. With saying that he *slew his patients*.

By the lawyers, on both sides, the *Constitution of Pennsylvania*, and the rights and advantages

ges thereby conferred and insured, have been much harped upon, as if the liberty of the press were become the greater in consequence of that modern institution; but all these rights and advantages, however valuable they may be in the eyes of a sovereign people, the defendant, in this action, most cheerfully foregoes. He asks for no other privilege, no other security for his person and his property, than that which will arise from a fair interpretation and a due execution of the *Common Law*; that law under the shielding branches of which he was born and nursed up to manhood, which was planted here by the benignant hand of his Sovereign, and which, though buffeted by many a storm, and bearing the mark of many an axe at its roots, still stands its ground, and still shelters the inhabitants of these States from the uplifted stroke of anarchical despotism. This is the law, to which Mr. Cobbett appeals in his defence; and, happily for the country, this law is yet the only code, to which, in this case, either party can appeal.

NOT to hamper you with a string of definitions and nice distinctions, I shall observe, generally, that to justify a jury in awarding damages, on any charge of slander, they must be clearly convinced of four things; to wit: 1. that the defendant uttered or published the words laid to his charge; 2. that those words were meant to apply to the plaintiff; 3. that the words are false; and, 4. that they were uttered or published with a malicious or criminal intent.

THE



THE publishing of the words laid in the declaration, and their application to the plaintiff, the defendant most readily avows; but, if I can prove to you (or if you *already know of yourselves*), that the words are *true*, and that the defendant did no more than fulfil his *duty* in publishing them, you ought well to remember your oaths before you give damages to the plaintiff.

I SHALL examine the charges in the order that they stand. 1. *The defendant has called Doctor Rush a VAIN-BOASTER.* I aver this to be *true*, and prove it by Rush's own publications, respecting his practice in 1793. On the 12th of September he published in all the papers, that, *with his new discovered remedies*, there was no more danger to be apprehended from the yellow fever, than from the measles or influenza. On the 17th of the same month, he wrote to the College of Physicians, that *his discovery*, as far as it went, reduced the yellow fever, in point of danger and mortality, to a level with a common cold. On the 3rd of October he wrote to Dr. Rogers at New York (publishing his letter, as well as that to the College, in the news-papers), declaring that, *he had been made the instrument in the hands of a kind Providence of curing MORE than ninety nine patients out of a hundred.* This was certainly *boasting*, and that it was *vain boasting* is notorious; for, at the very time that he wrote and published these boastings, his remedies were making dreadful havock; from the date of the first, the 12th of September, to that of the third, wherein

wherein he brags of curing *more* than ninety nine out of a hundred, the daily bills of mortality rose from 23 to 78! And, just after the last mentioned 'most impudent boast was made, *four* patients out of *six* died in his own house!

UPON your oaths now I ask you, is this fellow a *vain boaster*, or is he not?

2. THE defendant called Doctor Rush a *quack*.—And here, in order to make out the justification, it would be my duty to examine the meaning of the term; but the good-natured advocates of the bleeding Doctor have kindly saved me that trouble: they have most unfortunately taken the definition of Addison, and have stated a quack to be: “ *a boastful pretender to physick; one who proclaims his own medical abilities and nostrums in public places.*”

Now, then let us see whether, or not, the Doctor's conduct brings him up to this definition.

DURING the whole of the fever of 1793, and from that time to the fever of 1797, he made no scruple to declare, that none of the physicians, who did not follow his practice, ought to be trusted with the life of a patient. His lectures abound with his insolent pretensions to superiority in medicine. Notorious is it that he has, all his life, been a proclaimer of his own medical abilities; but, to come to something more specifick, on the 12th of September, 1793, he published the following advertisement.

Doctor

## “ DOCTOR RUSH

“ REGRETTING that he is unable to comply  
 “ with all the calls of his fellow-citizens in-  
 “ disposed with the prevailing fever, recommends  
 “ to them to take *his mercurial purges*, which may  
 “ now be had with suitable directions at most of  
 “ the apothecaries, and to lose 10 or 12 ounces of  
 “ blood as soon as convenient after taking the pur-  
 “ ges, if the head-ache and fever continue.---When  
 “ the purges do not operate speedily, bleeding  
 “ may now be used before they are taken.---*The*  
 “ *almost universal success with which it has pleased*  
 “ *God to bless the remedies of strong mercurial pur-*  
 “ *ges and bleeding in this disorder*, enables Dr. Rush  
 “ to assure his fellow citizens that there is no more  
 “ danger to be apprehended from it *when these re-*  
 “ *medies* have been used in its early stage, than  
 “ there is from the meazels or influenza.---Dr. Rush  
 “ assures his fellow-citizens farther, that the ri-ks  
 “ from vi-iting and attending the sick *at present*,  
 “ is not greater than from walking the streets.---  
 “ While the disease was so generally mortal, or *the*  
 “ *successful mode of treating it only partially adopted*,  
 “ he advised his friends to leave the city; *at present*  
 “ he conceives this advice unnecessary, not only be-  
 “ cause the disease is under the power of medicine,  
 “ but because the citizens who now wish to fly into  
 “ the country cannot avoid carrying the infection  
 “ with them;—they had better remain near to *medi-*  
 “ *cal aid*, and avoid exciting the infection into ac-  
 “ tion.”

“ NEAR to *medical aid*;" that is, near to *him*;  
 —It was safer to remain near him, though in the  
 midst of pestilence, than be near any other physi-  
 cian, though in the sweet air of the country! This  
 Advertisement is assuredly the most impudent  
 that ever was published; no Leicester-square quack

ever equalled it. At the very time that Rush had the impudence thus to tell the people, that there was no longer any danger, *if they used his remedies*; at the very time that he was thus advising them not to leave the city, but *to remain near to medical aid*; at the very time that he was *blessing God for the almost universal success of his remedies*; the bills of mortality were daily increasing in a dreadful degree. On the day before the above advertisement appeared, the number of deaths was *twenty three*; and from that day they began to increase, and they went on increasing, 'till, at the end of one month after the infallible remedies had been in vogue, they had arisen from *twenty three to one hundred and nineteen*.

BUT it is the *quackish language* of the Advertisement which is at present the object of our examination. It is absolutely impossible to read the Doctor's puff without observing the strict resemblance that it bears to what the Cockney's call the "Doctor's Bills." The defendant has compared Rush's puffs to the puff of *Spilsbury*; and this has been made a charge against him. But, hear Dr. Spilsbury, and then say, if you can, that the comparison is not just.

" WE congratulate our fellow creatures, in having it in  
 " their power to get relieved from the most unpleasant com-  
 " plaints incident to human nature, such as the scurvy, gout,  
 " rheumatism, evil, ulcers, and other disorders arising from  
 " impurities of the blood, indigestion, &c. by taking Spilsbu-  
 " ry's Antiscorbutic Drops, a medicine well known upwards  
 " of twenty-six years for having performed more extraordi-  
 " nary

“ nary cures than any other ever invented, and whose repute  
 “ has reached the remotest corners of the universe, every na-  
 “ tion bearing grateful testimony of its eminent virtues; how  
 “ happy therefore is it for the inhabitants of this island, that  
 “ they can supply themselves with a medicine which, should  
 “ they travel to any part of the globe, will secure them from  
 “ the fatal consequence that too often attend the above com-  
 “ plaints.”

THE defendant has called this a puff *equal* to Doctor Rush's, and, if there be any *untruth* in his words, it is because Spilsbury's puff is *inferior* to that of Rush; for, surpass it, it certainly does not.

STILL, however, clearly to establish the *quackery*, the man must not only boast about his medical abilities and the virtue of his nostrums, but he must do this in *publick places*. That Rush's boastings were heard in all the streets of Philadelphia is notorious, and it is also notorious, that the above boasting Advertisement, as well as several others of a like nature, were published in all the *newspapers*. It is notorious that they were besides printed on hand-bills, given away in the Apothecaries' shops, handed about the streets, and stuck upon the walls, houses, and public pumps!

Is not this man “ a boastful pretender to phy-  
 “ sick, one who proclaims his own medical abili-  
 “ ties and nostrums in *publick places*?” And, if this be quackery, I ask you upon your consciences, if you have any, whether Rush is, or is not, a *quack*?\*

3. MR.

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\* The Advertisements of the *retailers* of his nostrum must not be forgotten.

“ DR.

3 MR. Cobbett, is charged with calling Doctor Rush *Sangrado*.—To call a man *Sangrado* is nothing ; but, Gentlemen, you have been told by the *learned* Harper and the more *learned* Ingersol, who, it would seem, have both studied *Gil Blas*, “ that this *Sangrado* was a *quack* damned to everlasting fame,” and that, therefore, to call Doctor Rush *Sangrado*, is to call him a *quack*. Were this correct, the charge would be already answered; but, it is not so. Poor *Sangrado* was, according to the definition of Rush’s advocates, no *quack*; for he did not “ proclaim his own “medical abilities and nostrums in publick places;” and, therefore, the word *Sangrado*, as applied to Rush, was no slander.

BUT, Gentlemen of the Jury, the defendant is a candid satyrist; he will, in no case, seek for safety

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“ DR. RUSH’s celebrated mercurial purging and sweating “ powders for preventing and curing the prevailing putrid “ fever, may be had carefully prepared, *with proper directions*, “ at Betton and Harrisons, No. 10, South Second street.”

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“ DR. RUSH’s mercurial sweating purge for the yellow “ fever, may be had carefully prepared, *with the doctor’s “ directions*, and sold by William Delany, druggist and “ chemist, &c.”

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“ DR. RUSH’s mercurial sweating powder for the yellow “ fever, with *printed directions*, prepared and sold by *per- “ mission*, by Goldthwait and Baldwin, chemists and drug- “ gists, &c.”

Now, reader, if you had met with these advertisements in a news-paper, without having any previous knowledge of the parties concerned, should you not have set this Rush down for a potent *quack*? I am sure you would.

safety under the leward side of the law. Whether the word Sangrado be slanderous or not, he will allow you to assess damages against him for the application of it, if he cannot prove to you that that application was *just*.

EMINENT men are frequently called by the names of other eminent men, who have lived in former times, or in other nations. It is a figure of rhetorick, which every one is at liberty to make use of. Thus, *Tom Paine* is called the *Wat Tyler* of the present age, and *Doctor Rush* is called the *American Sangrado*. All that a writer has to do, to justify, either in a court of criticism or a court of law, the use of such a figure, is, to prove, that the great man, whom he has designated by the name of another, bears such a resemblance to that other as the tenor of the words do evidently imply.

WHAT sort of resemblance, then, do Mr. Cobbett's words imply between Doctor Rush and Doctor Sangrado? Do they tend to produce a belief that the American resembles the Spaniard in his *person*, in his *general character*, or in his *medical opinions, practice, and fame*? Most assuredly the resemblance was meant to exist in the latter respect only; for, Doctor Sangrado is described as "a *tall, meagre, pale man*, who had kept the shears of Clotho employed during forty years at least, and who was, in spite of all his *vanity and presumption, a down-right ninny*."

IT being evident, then, that the defendant meant a resemblance in the medical opinions, practice and fame of these two celebrated physicians, it only remains for me to prove to you, Gentlemen, that the words, expressing such a resemblance, were founded in *truth*. Here are the two pictures; examine them yourselves.

## DOCTOR SANGRADO.

(Extracts from *Gil Blas*.)

1. "His opinions were  
" *extremely singular.*"

2. "Sangrado sent me for  
" a surgeon, whom he or-  
" dered to take from my  
" master *six good porrin-*  
" *gers of blood!* When  
" this was done he ordered  
" the surgeon to return in  
" three hours and take *as*  
" *much more*, and to repeat  
" the same evacuation the  
" next day!"

3. "This bleeding, San-  
" grado said, was *to supply*

## DOCTOR RUSH.

1. *Singularity of opinion*,  
in every thing, is his boast:  
for instance, his plan of a  
*peace-office* to supply the  
place of a *war-office*; and his  
taking the cure of diseases  
out of the hands of *physici-*  
*ans* to put it into those of  
the people.

2. "I bled my patients  
" twice, and a few *three*  
" *times a-day!* I preferred  
" frequent and small, to  
" large bleedings in the be-  
" ginning of September;  
" but towards the heighth  
" and close of the epide-  
" mick, I saw no inconve-  
" nience from the loss of a  
" *pint*, and even *twenty oun-*  
" *ces of blood at a time!*"

RUSH ON YEL. FEV. '93.

3. "From the influence  
" of early purging and *bleed-*



“ *the want of perspiration.*  
 “ So when I came to prac-  
 “ tice, says Gil Blas, be-  
 “ ing asked by an old wo-  
 “ man what was the matter  
 “ of her daughter, I told  
 “ her, with great gravity,  
 “ that the illness proceeded  
 “ from the patient’s want  
 “ of perspiration, and, that  
 “ of consequence she must  
 “ be speedily be bled,  
 “ *that evacuation being the*  
 “ *only substitute for perspi-*  
 “ *ration.*”

4. “ Not bled in a drop-  
 “ sy,” said he, “ the pa-  
 “ tient in a dropsy should  
 “ be bled every day.”

5. “ Sangrado said, it is  
 “ a gross error, Master  
 “ Martin Ouez, to think  
 “ that blood is necessary  
 “ for the preservation of  
 “ life: a patient cannot be  
 “ bled too much!”

6. “ Doctor Sangrado  
 “ said to me, I have a re-  
 “ gard for thee Gil Blas,  
 “ [a foot-boy] and will im-  
 “ mediately disclose to thee

“ *ing in promoting sweat*  
 “ in the yellow fever, there  
 “ can be little doubt, but  
 “ the efforts of nature to  
 “ unload the system in the  
 “ plague through the pores,  
 “ might be accelerated by  
 “ the use of the same reme-  
 “ dies. A profuse sweat  
 “ cannot fail of wasting  
 “ many pounds of the fluids  
 “ of the body. To corre-  
 “ spond in quantity with  
 “ the discharge from the  
 “ skin, blood-letting should  
 “ be copious.”

RUSH ON YEL. FEV.

4. Rush has frequently  
 astounded the physicians of  
 Philadelphia by recommend-  
 ing *bleeding in the dropsy.*

5. “ You should bleed  
 your patients *almost to*  
*death, at least to fainting.*”  
 This is an extract which  
 Rush gives from a letter of  
 poor old Shippen, and calls  
 it “ the triumph of reason,  
 “ over the formalities of  
 “ medicine.”

6. Doctor Rush says:  
 “ All the knowledge that  
 “ is necessary to discover  
 “ when blood-letting is  
 “ proper, might be taught

“ the whole extent of that  
 “ salutary art, which I have  
 “ professed for so many  
 “ years. Other physicians  
 “ make this consist in the  
 “ knowledge of a thousand  
 “ different sciences; but I  
 “ intend to go a shorter way  
 “ to work, and spare thee  
 “ the trouble of studying  
 “ pharmacy, anatomy, bo-  
 “ tany and physick. Know,  
 “ my friend, all that is re-  
 “ quired is to *bleed* the pa-  
 “ tients, and make them  
 “ drink warm water. This  
 “ is the secret of curing all  
 “ the distempers incident  
 “ to man. Yes! that won-  
 “ derful secret which I re-  
 “ veal to thee, and which  
 “ nature, impenetrable to  
 “ my brethren, hath not  
 “ been able to hide from  
 “ my researches, is contain-  
 “ ed in these two points, of  
 “ plentiful bleeding and fre-  
 “ quent draughts of water.  
 “ I have nothing more to  
 “ impart; thou knowest  
 “ physick to the very bot-  
 “ tom.”

7. “ I have *published a*  
 “ *book*, said Sangrado, in  
 “ which I have extolled  
 “ the use of bleeding, and  
 “ would you have me de-

“ to a boy or girl of twelve  
 “ years old, in a few hours.  
 “ I taught it in less time to  
 “ several persons [the two  
 “ *negroes* for instance] du-  
 “ ring the prevalence of  
 “ our late epidemic.—We  
 “ teach a hundred things  
 “ in our schools less useful,  
 “ and many things more  
 “ difficult, than the know-  
 “ ledge that would be ne-  
 “ cessary to cure a yellow  
 “ fever or the plague.—For  
 “ a long while the ele-  
 “ ments themselves were  
 “ dealt out by physicians  
 “ with a sparing hand.  
 “ They possessed a mono-  
 “ poly of many artificial  
 “ remedies, but a new or-  
 “ der of things, is rising in  
 “ medicine as well as in  
 “ government. The time  
 “ must and will come, when  
 “ the general use of calo-  
 “ mel, jalap, and the lan-  
 “ cet, shall be considered  
 “ amongst the most essen-  
 “ tial articles of the know-  
 “ ledge, and rights of man.”

7. Rush also has *publish-*  
 “ *ed a book*, and, in that book  
 “ he has said: “ I was part  
 “ of a little circle of phy-  
 “ sicians, who had *associat-*

“ cry my own work? Oh,  
 “ no! replied I, you must  
 “ not give your enemies  
 “ such a triumph over you:  
 “ it would ruin your repu-  
 “ tation: perish rather the  
 “ nobility, clergy and peo-  
 “ ple!”

“ ed themselves in *support*  
 “ of the *new remedies*.—  
 “ This circle would have  
 “ been broken by my quit-  
 “ ting the city.— Under  
 “ these circumstances, it  
 “ pleased God to enable me  
 “ to reply to one of the let-  
 “ ters that urged my retreat  
 “ from the city, that I had  
 “ resolved to *stick to my*  
 “ *principles, my practice,*  
 “ and my patients, *to the*  
 “ *last extremity!*”

8. “ My master had re-  
 “ course to physicians, and  
 “ sent for Doctor Sangra-  
 “ do, whom all Validolid  
 “ looked upon as *another*  
 “ *Hippocrates.*”

8. “ Look at the conduct  
 “ of Doctor Rush,” said  
 pleader Hopkinson, “ and  
 “ say if it did not *resemble*  
 “ *that of Hippocrates.*”

Now, Gentlemen, what think you of the re-  
 semblance? Doctor Sangrado is a man of *singular*  
*opinions*; so is Doctor Rush. Doctor Sangrado  
 draws blood *porringer after porringer*; Doctor  
 Rush, *pint after pint*. Doctor Sangrado employs co-  
 pious bleedings to *supply the want of perspiration*;  
 so does Doctor Rush. They both recommend  
*bleeding in the dropsy*. Doctor Sangrado says that  
 it is a gross error to think *that blood is necessary*  
*to the preservation of life*; Doctor Rush calls it  
 the triumph of *reason* to prescribe *bleeding almost*  
*to death*. Doctor Sangrado sends a *foot-boy, a la-*  
*quay*, to bleed and drench the citizens of Valido-

lid ; Doctor Rush qualifies *negroes*, and *old-women* to bleed and purge those of Philadelphia. Doctor Sangrado has written a book ; so has Doctor Rush : and they both resolve to *stick to their principles and practice to the last extremity*. Doctor Sangrado is called, by his cotemporaries, the *Hippocrates of Spain* ; Doctor Rush's cotemporaries call him *the Hippocrates of Pennsylvania*.—The only shade of difference is in their practice ; the American employs doses of mercury and jalap, while the Spaniard contents himself with draughts of warm-water ; and, I believe, you will confess, that the latter is, at least, as innocent as the former.

BUT, Gentlemen of the Jury, there needed no such laboured comparison, to prove to you, that the name of Sangrado was fairly applicable to the plaintiff. You know, Gentlemen, that Doctor Rush has erected his *bleeding system* upon the opinions of *Botallus*, a French physician, whose name he mentions with great applause in p. 330 of his Account of the Yellow Fever. This *Botallus* endeavoured to introduce the practice of *excessive bleeding*, which was condemned by the faculty of medicine at Paris ; and you well know, that the practice of his American follower was honoured with something very much like condemnation by the College of Physicians at Philadelphia. But, the most curious fact is, that Le Sage introduced the character of *Sangrado* into the novel of *Gil Blas* for the express purpose of ridiculing this very *Botallus* ! I have carefully examined the biography  
of

of Le Sage, and I can no where find, that he was sued or prosecuted by bleeder *Botallus*; so that, the master in blood must have been of a more meek and forbearing disposition than the disciple, or the liberty of the press, in the "dark ages," under a French Monarch, must have been greater than it is, even in "these enlightened days," under the sovereign people of Pennsylvania.

THE 4th and last charge preferred against the defendant, is, *that he has said, that Doctor Rush SLEW HIS PATIENTS.* The passage from Porcupine's Gazette, on which this charge is founded runs thus:—"Doctor Rush, in that emphatical style, which is peculiar to himself, calls mercury the *Sampson* of medicine. In his hands, and in those of his partizans, it may, indeed, be compared to Sampson; for, I verily believe, they have slain more Americans with it, than ever Sampson slew of the Philistines. The Israelite slew his thousands, but the Rushites have slain their tens of thousands."

THE pleaders for Rush have told you, that this is accusing him of *murder*. How unfair this construction is; what a shameful perversion it is of the defendant's meaning, must be evident to every man of common understanding.\* I can hardly believe that it can ever be the duty of advocates

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\* SHAMEFUL as the perversion was, however, we shall see, by and by, that the *Judge* gave into it, and actually told the Jury that I had accused the Doctor of *murdering* his patients, though the word *murder* was not to be found in any of the expressions laid in the declaration.

vocates to *lie* in this impudent manner (for wilful misconstruction is lying), and, when they do, I am certain that jurors ought not to give any weight to what they say; much less ought they to *affect* to look upon such bare-faced falshoods as truths. Jurors should recollect, that they are sworn to decide according to the conviction which is produced in their own minds; and, when they do not act up to the spirit of this oath, they will in vain seek for a justification in the *assertions* from the bar, or even from the bench.

UNWILLING to trust to *one interpretation* of the words, on which this charge is founded, the Rushite counsel have asserted, 1. that these words accuse Doctor Rush of *killing people with deadly weapons*; and 2. that they accuse him of *killing people with his physick*.—I shall consider them separately.

TAKE the passage above quoted from Porcupine's Gazette, strip it of its figurative quality, insist upon its being literally understood, make it positive instead of doubtful, and then cut it up into simple sentences, considering each as having been made use of detached from all the rest; after having thus strained, twisted, garbelled, and gutted the writing of the defendant, I will allow, that something like an accusation of *killing people with deadly weapons* may be made out. But, it is not thus that a man's words are to be treated; his person and estate are not to be brought into jeopardy

pardy by such miserable petitfogging interpretations: pitiful, indeed, would be the liberty of speech and of the press, were every sentence liable to a judicial criticism of this sort. No, no; the *Common Law of England* (which, as I observed before, is, in this case, the law of America) encourages no such uncandid, no such litigious proceeding. That Law, I had almost said that *holy Law*, which is the result of the researches of wisdom actuated by the spirit of justice; that Law, which, while it has clad *good* character in a coat of mail, has thrown a shield before the body of the critick, the satyrist, and the publick censor; that Law tells you, that the words, on which an action of Slander is grounded, shall be understood neither in their *best sense* nor their *worst sense*, but “that  
 “ the words shall be taken in the same sense, as  
 “ they would be understood by those who hear or  
 “ read them, and for that purpose all the words  
 “ ought to be taken together.”—*See Buller’s Nisi Prius*, p. 4:

Now, Gentlemen of the jury, casting behind you the base misconstructions by which you have been led astray, and taking the law for your guide, go once more over the words of Mr. Cobbett. “Doctor Rush,” says he, “in that emphatical style  
 “ which is peculiar to himself, calls Mercury the  
 “ Sampson of medicine. In his hands, and in  
 “ those of his partizans, it may, indeed, be justly  
 “ compared to Sampson; for, I verily *believe*, that  
 “ they have slain more Americans with it, then ever  
 “ Sampson

“ Sampson slew of the Philistines. The Israelite  
 “ slew his thousands, but the Rushites have slain  
 “ their tens of thousands.”

WHAT, on your oaths I ask you ; do you, upon hearing these words, understand the writer to mean? Should you, had you read this passage in a foreign news-paper, have concluded that this Doctor Rush was in the habit of *killing people with deadly weapons*? No, no, Gentlemen, you would have drawn no such conclusion! you would have thought that he was a man, who, with his disciples, followed a very bold and dangerous system of medicine, and you would have thought nothing more. You would have looked upon him as a deceived, an ignorant, and, perhaps, an obstinate man; but, you would have attached to his actions no idea of *criminality*; and, I beg you to observe well, that it is for accusing him with *criminal killing*, that you are, on this count of the declaration, called upon to give a verdict against the defendant: should you comply with the request, the future fate of *your* characters need not be foretold.

BUT, Gentlemen, I will, for a moment, suppose the words to imply *killing with deadly weapons*, and, even upon that supposition, I maintain that they are not actionable; and, of course, that they ought to make nothing against the defendant.



IN the first place they are too indefinite with respect to the persons: Doctor Rush is confounded with a numerous class, called the Rushites, and the persons killed are neither named nor described. The law is extremely scrupulous on these points, and positively rejects every thing that has only an imaginary existence. For an action of slander to lie, on account of an accusation of *killing*, the words must not only evidently apply to the plaintiff as the killer, but, in a case like the present, it must also appear, that the persons, said to be killed, *are actually dead*; for instance, if I say to either of you, "Thou hast poisoned A. B. and it shall cost me £.100 but I will hang thee: No action will lie for these words, *without proof being produced by the plaintiff, that A. B. is actually dead.*" See ROLLE'S ABRIDGEMENT, Vol. I. p. 77.—Thus, you see, though the killer and the killed are clearly designated, the law rejects the action, because *the death* is not proved.

BUT, Gentlemen, suppose the Doctor were to pull out a list of his patients for some years past; suppose he were to point to the populous grave yards of this unfortunate city, and say, *these* are the people that the defendant has accused me of killing with deadly weapons; and suppose you should be convinced of the truth of his assertion. Still the action will not lie; unless it be evident, that Mr. Cobbett meant, that these people were killed *criminally*, and to ascertain this, *all* the words must be taken together. For instance, if I say,

say,

say, “*Mr. Harper is a thief,*” and if I stop there, an action will lie against me; but, if I say “*Mr. Harper is a thief, FOR he has stolen the thoughts, the words, the expressions, the sentences, and even whole paragraphs, from Monsieur Mallet du Pan, and dressed them up into a speech for Congress;*” no action will lie for these words, 1. because the latter part of the words are satisfactorily explanatory of the former, and 2. because the words, taken all together, do not accuse Mr. Harper of any *crime*, but merely of a little of what the law calls *Tower and Conversion*, and what, in the critick’s court, is called *plagiarism*.—A case more in point, however, is to be found in ROLLE’S ABRIDGEMENT, Vol. I. p. 72, where it is said: “If a man says of J. S.—“*as soon as Bushe had killed Smith, he came to J. S. and told him, how he had killed Smith, and J. S. gave Bushe money to shift him away.*” The law says, Gentlemen, that no action will lie for this accusation, though Smith be proved to be dead; “for” says the learned Reporter, “the word *kill* is too general, and a man may *kill* another in his own defence, &c. without committing any crime.” And if the word *kill* does not imply criminality in the act, how much less does the word *slay*, which is, now-a-days, exclusively appropriated to narratives of battles, and is never employed as a substitute for *murder*, or *assassination*; whereas, *to kill* sometimes is.

THIS is, however, only a waste of time; for, you never can have believed, that the defendant meant

to accuse Doctor Rush of *criminally* putting thousands and tens of thousands of Americans to death. The suggestion is an insult to common sense, and a disgrace to the judges who have suffered you to listen to it.

THE other construction, put upon the words of the defendant, is more reasonable; to wit: *that he has accused Doctor Rush of killing his patients with his remedies.*—The words, taken all together, do not warrant this construction; but, admit that they do; still they are not actionable, notwithstanding the assertion of the *learned* Ingersol. This man has told you, that he has “*an authority*” for this assertion. I wish he had told you *what* authority it was. Perhaps it was Governor (sometime Chief Justice) Mc. Kean? If so, I applaud his prudence in keeping the name to himself. The authority, to which I shall appeal, is of a different stamp.—“A man says of a physician, *He hath killed J. S. in the Old Jewry, with physick, which physick was a pill, and Doctor Atkins and Doctor Pady found the vomit in his mouth.*”—This is no vague charge; the meaning of the words is by no means dubious; the defendant does not, like Mr. Cobbett, speak in figurative language, and qualify his assertion with a phrase expressive of uncertainty; the accusation is to be literally understood; it is clear, direct, with the circumstances of manner, time, and place. Yet, says my authority, “no action will lie for these words; for, if a physician give medicines or drugs to his patient, with an  
T
“ intent

“ intent to recover him from his sickness, though  
 “ the patient die after having taken them, still  
 “ the physician is not punishable, so long as it  
 “ does not appear that he gave the medicines  
 “ knowing them to be contrary to the nature of  
 “ the disease.—If the man had said, *that the phy-*  
 “ *sician killed J. S. with medicines, which he ad-*  
 “ *ministered knowing them to be contrary to the na-*  
 “ *ture of the disease,* an action would have lain for  
 “ these words.”—See ROLLE’S ABRIDGEMENT,  
 Vol. I. p. 71.

THIS, Gentlemen of the Jury, is the language  
 of the Common law of England, and, give me  
 leave to say, that it is also the language of reason ;  
 for it would be absurd to suppose that an action of  
 slander is to be avoided by circumlocutory phrases ;  
 by saying in many words what might be said  
 in few. And, if no speech and no writing is to be  
 made use of, which can be fairly construed to  
 mean that a physician has *killed* his patient by his  
 remedies ; then I say, that all controversy about  
 modes of cure must from henceforth cease ; for, it  
 is absolutely impossible to speak with *disapproba-*  
*tion* of a physician’s practice, without making use  
 of such words, as will, directly or indirectly, im-  
 ply, that *he has killed his patients with his remedies.*  
 Doctor Brickell, for instance, in remonstrating  
 against the treatment of General Washington by  
 Doctors Craik and Dick, has these words : “ Thus,  
 “ we see, by their own statement, that they drew  
 ‘ from a man in the sixty ninth year of his age,  
 “ the enormous quantity of eighty two ounces,  
 or

“ or above two quarts and an half of blood in about  
 “ thirteen hours. Very few of the most robust  
 “ young men in the world could survive such a  
 “ loss of blood ; but the body of an aged person,  
 “ *must* be so exhausted, and all his powers so  
 “ weakened *by it* as to *make his death* speedy and  
 “ *inevitable*. Here *the effect followed the cause*  
 “ *precisely*: the physicians soon observed the  
 “ powers of life yielding; a loss of speech; and  
 “ that he expired without a struggle! The *exces-*  
 “ *sive bleeding had left him no strength to strug-*  
 “ *gle!*!”

Now, Gentlemen, follow the rule laid down  
 by the law, take all Doctor Brickell's words to-  
 gether, and you will, at once, perceive, that he  
 charges these physicians with killing General  
 Washington with their remedies. He tells them,  
 that the blood they took from their patient *ren-*  
*dered his death inevitable*; he says that their bleed-  
 ing was *the cause of his death*; and that the *ex-*  
*cessive* bleeding left him *no strength to struggle*  
*with*.—But, are these not *truths*? And shall this,  
 or any other man, be prevented from speaking  
 and publishing these salutary truths? Shall he be  
 harrassed and prosecuted; shall he be muzzled,  
 gagged, or fined to his ruin, because he has had  
 publick spirit enough to promulgate truths so ne-  
 cessary to the preservation of even the lives of the  
 people; and all this merely because the promul-  
 gation tends to diminish the practice and profits  
 of a second Sangrado and his bleeding disciples?—  
 The Law says, no! Reason turns with disgust from  
 the

the absurdity; Justice grasps her sword, and Liberty revolts, at the presumptuous, the tyrannical position!

HAVING now, Gentlemen of the Jury, completely justified the words of the defendant, by establishing the *truth* of those which are, in themselves, actionable, and by proving that those, the truth of which does not admit of positive proof, are, in no sense, actionable, it is not a duty incumbent on me to show, that none of them were published with a *malicious intent*: the charge of *falshood* being disproved, that of *malice* falls of course. But, Gentlemen, witnesses have been produced to make you believe that private malice, and not public good, was the basis of the publications; and, the defendant, strong in the purity of his motives, and indignant at the reproach, with which he has been assailed, instructs me to repel the ungrateful insinuation.

THE three witnesses, to whom you have been listening, are all physicians (as they have the politeness to call themselves) of the school of Rush; two of them were his *pupils*, and, I trust, no one of the three would have been admitted to give evidence, in a similar case, in any other court in the world; seeing that each of them, in proportion to the extent of his practice, is as deeply interested in the result of this trial, as is the plaintiff himself. Observe, Gentlemen, that, when Mr. Cobbett speaks of the deadly effects of the System of Depletion, he does not say, that *Rush* has slain "his thou-  
" sands

“sands and tens of thousands,” but that, the “*Rushites*” (that is, all those who follow this fatal system) “have slain *their* thousands and tens of thousands;” so that, the persons who have been admitted to give evidence, are, virtually, joint plaintiffs in the cause! It was lately decided by the judges in this very court, that no inhabitant of Philadelphia should be admitted to give evidence against persons charged with the transgression of the law prohibiting the erection of wooden buildings; because, living in the same city, where the building had been erected, he might *possibly* be interested in the result of the trial. And, if this was good ground for exception, how much better is the ground for excepting to the evidence of “*Rushites*” in the present case? And yet this evidence is admitted!—Is this your impartiality! Blush, Philadelphians, for your tranquil submission!

BUT, Gentlemen of the Jury, you have, however, heard this evidence, and therefore, I shall, for the reasons before stated, endeavour to remove the impression it may have produced.

THE first of these witnesses is *James Mease*. \*  
He

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\* BESIDES the interest, which these men had in common with Rush, they each of them had a *private grudge* against me, which will clearly account for their volunteering in the business, and for their treachery in divulging private conversations. Mease’s conduct at the island was very severely, though very justly, treated in Porcupine’s Gazette; and, it  
will

He has told you, that, about six months *after* this action was commenced, he heard the defendant say, speaking of Doctor Rush: "*Damn him, he had better withdraw his suit, or I will persecute him while living, and his memory after his death.*"

—The plain truth of the matter is this: Mr. Cobbett went to the Island, where Mease was king Robinson Crusoe, along with an English Captain, who had some business with a sick sailor. While the Captain was gone to the Hospital, Mease asked Mr. Cobbett into his apartment, brought out a bottle of wine, and gave him a pressing invitation to dinner. The invitation was declined, but two or three glasses of wine were drunk, and a conversation, of the rallying bantering kind, took place; and, as it is impossible to be with a Rushite for a quarter of an hour, without being pestered with an eulogium on the fraternity and the abominable remedies they employ, Rush and his law-suit soon became the topic. Mr. Cobbett certainly did, on this occasion, as on many others, make use of words strongly expressive

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will be remembered, that he hated me for refusing to publish his base and assassin-like attack on poor sottish Mifflin. If the man who reads this note, has not read the first number of the Rush-Light, I beg him to turn to it, where he will see recorded an act of this Mease, surpassing in ingratitude, in treachery, in cowardly black-hearted malice, any thing ever imputed even to the inhabitants of the infernal regions. And, when he has read this, let him recollect, that this Mease is the *pupil*, the *dear friend*, and one of the *trumpets* of Rush, who, in his Account of the Yellow Fever of 1793, *blessed God* for preserving the young man's "precious life!"---Such, or nearly such, are *all* his friends.



sive of his resentment at Rush's insolent and vexatious appeal to the law, and he well remembers threatening *to make him repent of it*; but, as to *damning* him, he utterly denies it; for, though he has to atone for too many sins of this sort, he is certain that he never so far degraded a curse as to bestow it on Rush. And, with respect to his saying, that he would persecute *his memory after his death*, the thing is absolutely incredible: he might as reasonably have threatened to persecute the *memory* of a butterfly or maggot. "Can *the Rush*," says Job, "grow up without mire? Whilst it is yet in his greenness, *and not cut down, it withereth before any other herb*."—Upon reading these words, one is tempted to believe, that the holy seer really had the Pennsylvanian Hippocrates in his eye; for, though he is yet in his greenness, though he is still alive, his fame has perished of itself; it is withered and dead.

HOWEVER, Gentlemen, what degree of credit soever you may be inclined to give to the evidence of *Physician Mease*; though you should believe that the defendant uttered the words precisely as the witness has stated, you must remember, that these words were uttered eight months *after* the suit was commenced; and, that they cannot tend to establish the *malice* imputed to the publications, for which this action is brought, because, they express resentment against Rush for his conduct *subsequent* to those publications.

THE next of the volunteer witnesses is *John Redman Coxe*. He tells you, Gentlemen, that on the 2nd of October, 1797, which was some weeks after this action was commenced, he was in Mr. Cobbett's house,\* and that he there heard him say, that "he did not *believe* he should have " said *so much* on bleeding or mercurials if Doctor Rush had not been the founder of the System."—By the little cunning sniveller's noting down the very day of his visit, it would appear that he

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\*YES, this subaltern Sangrado did really come to my house about this time, and did very earnestly intercede with me in behalf of his preceptor; and, by the same token, I remember, that he presented me a list of physicians of Philadelphia, whom he very strenuously persuaded me to *lampoon*! Upon this list were the names of *Khuñ*, *Wistar*, *Farke* and several others; and the base accusation, which he wished me to prefer against these respectable gentlemen and truly eminent physicians, was, that they had *deserted the poor in the hour of distress*, than which nothing would have been more false and malicious, or produced against the parties more public odium and reproach.---"*Damme*," said the little bleeder, "*shoot one of your quills at them: you'll set Wistar dancing mad, and he's a sly democrat*."---I resisted this eloquent solicitation. I felt no inclination to set Doctor *Wistar* dancing mad: for, whatever might be his political opinions, he kept them to himself; and I had always heard, that he was a man of great private worth.

SUCH are the *pupils*, the *friends*, and the witnesses of Rush! Such are the fellows, who have the impudence to come forward in a court of justice, and accuse me of *underband malice*!---Happy would it have been for them, had they been yet unborn. Their great leader will sink, and will drag them all down with him to the bottom of the mire.

he attached great importance to these words; but, Gentlemen, you assuredly cannot believe, that they have the least tendency to establish the *malice*, which is imputed to the publications of the defendant. Mr. Cobbett said, “ he *believed*, that “ he should not have said *so much* about bleeding “ and mercurials, if *Doctor Rush* had not been the “ founder of the system.”—What is the meaning of these words? Do they imply malice against the *man*, as the babblers on the other side have asserted? No such thing, Mr. Cobbett having always entertained that opinion of Rush, which his conduct in the Fever of 1793 was so well calculated to confirm; having always looked upon him as a wild and persevering experimenter, and having seen him publish, that he was “ *resolved to stick* “ to his *principles* and his *practice* to the *last ex-* “ *tremity*,” was it not very natural, that the character of the *man* should increase his zeal against the system? And, was it not as natural that he should say, that he *believed* he should not have said *so much* against it, if Rush had not been its founder? Permit me to put a case to you, Gentlemen. Suppose Jefferson were to propose to you a new alliance with France: should you listen to it with the same patience as you would to a similar proposition from Mr. Adams? And would you not be justified in declaring, that you *believed* you should not have said *so much* about it, if Jefferson had not been the proposer? Should you not, if this your declaration were brought forward as a proof of your *malice* against Jefferson, spurn at the promoters of the charge and the wretched spies they had employed?

ployed? Were you free men, nay, were you vassals, were you slaves, were you any thing but Philadelphians, you certainly would.

THE last of this goodly trio of betrayers of private conversation is *William Dewees*.\*

AND here, gentlemen, I shall, for the first time, take the liberty to deviate, for one moment, from my subject, in order to give you some idea of the character of the *father* of this witness. This is fully warranted by the manner in which the action has been attempted to be supported by the Rushite pleaders, who have not only loaded the character of the defendant himself with every species of calumny, but have most shamefully slandered his

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\* I HAVE shown, that the other two witnesses had a private grudge against me, and that *Dewees* had also, the reader will be convinced, when he is told that the following article appeared in Porcupine's Gazette.

### “ Another Puff.”

(From the New-York Gazette.)

“ Messrs. M'LEAN & LANG,

“ A Philadelphian now in New-York, was yesterday  
“ sorry to see the *able* and *useful* Physician *Dr. Dewees* in  
“ this city---knowing that his absence from Philadelphia will  
“ prove a *serious loss* to the afflicted of that place.

“ Sunday morning, Sept. 17, 1797.”

THIS article, which was, most probably, sent to the New York Gazette by the “ *able* and *useful* physician himself,” was inserted in my paper immediately after my comments on one of Rush's most impudent puffs.—This is the way they have gone on all over the country. There is not a single member of the fraternity, who is not a *puffer*.

his honest parents, by asserting that he is "a wretch cast up from the *slime* of mankind." That this is false you well know, and that it merits that retaliation which truth can inflict you cannot deny. The gin-shop pedigree of the plaintiff you are all acquainted with; something very pretty might be said about the *relations* and the *descendants* of the two first witnesses, *Mease* and *Coxe*;\* and, the following account of the progenitor of Dewees seems necessary to complete the genealogy.

THE modesty of this "able and useful physician" never suffered him, I dare say, to suppose that the fame of his ancestor was recorded in *history*; and I have no doubt that he will feel himself obliged to me for acquainting him with the fact. *Mr. Smyth*, who was a British officer, confined as a prisoner of war, in the jail of Philadelphia, during the revolution, and who afterwards published an account of his treatment, speaks thus of the father of the witness:

"ALL this time the Gaoler charged us at an extravagant rate for diet, fire, and candle, besides an allowance that he received from the Congress for that purpose; by which means he extorted every farthing of money from us, as far as our credit then would go. But being determined not to run in debt, I at length refused to pay him any more than the Congress allowed

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THIS is "high matter," and will form a separate and most curious article in the *Rush-Light*.

“ lowed, and was obliged after this to subsist  
 “ upon bread and water alone during seven weeks.  
 “ This gaoler’s name was *Thomas Dewees*, as ty-  
 “ rannical, cruel, infamous a villain as ever dis-  
 “ graced human nature.” After Mr. Smyth join-  
 ed the Royal Army, he came with it from the  
 Head of Elk to Philadelphia.—“ On the morn-  
 “ ing,” says he, “ of the day that a detachment of  
 “ the British army first entered Philadelphia, a  
 “ number of the Americans fell into my hands,  
 “ and amongst the rest *Thomas Dewees*, the cruel,  
 “ tyrannical gaoler, under whose iron taloons I  
 “ had suffered so long and severely. As soon as  
 “ this wretch found that I was the officer com-  
 “ manding the party, his terror is not to be de-  
 “ scribed, as he expected nothing less than im-  
 “ mediate death; falling on his knees he begged  
 “ for his life, and for mercy: I desired him to con-  
 “ sider, what he merited from me? He acknow-  
 “ ledged he deserved neither favour nor compas-  
 “ sion, said that his orders respecting me had been  
 “ more rigorous than against any other, and ow-  
 “ ned that he had executed them in their full se-  
 “ verity; but still most earnestly entreated forgive-  
 “ ness. I told him that for the sake of his innoc-  
 “ cent wife and *children* (for he had a large family),  
 “ I would forgive him, as he professed sincere  
 “ contrition, and proposed to take the *oaths of al-*  
 “ *legiance to his Majesty*: this he *readily perfor-*  
 “ *med*; and had the audacity afterwards of apply-  
 “ ing to Earl Cornwallis to be appointed Deputy  
 “ Provost Marshal *over the American prisoners in*  
 “ Philadelphia,

“ Philadelphia, in the accomplishment of which  
 “ pursuit, however, he very justly failed.”\*

SUCH is the account which history gives of the father. Now let us judge of the son, by the evidence which, in this trial, he has given with the intent of establishing the charge of *malice* against the defendant.—The witness relates to you, that, being at the defendant’s house in the month of *January*, 1797 (nine months previous to the date of the publications, on which the action is grounded), he heard him reprobate the Eulogium on Rittenhouse, which Rush had just then delivered; and that, on this occasion, he heard the defendant say, that the Eulogium was “ *too republican*,” adding, “ *damn him, I will attack him for it.*” Hence, Gentlemen, you are requested to believe, that the publications of *September* were no more than a fulfilment of the threat of *January*; and that Rush’s system of bleeding was attacked from *political* motives, and not from any opinion that the defendant entertained of its dangerous effects. Levi has told you, that Mr. Cobbett never attacked the Doctor’s politics: “ not a word,” says he, “ was ever seen upon *that* head; his attack was “ designed to be on a part more injurious to the “ *man*; he threatens in *January*, and executes in “ *September*. The arrow was stuck in his side, “ he did not attempt to draw it out at the mo-  
 “ ment,

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\* See SMYTH’S TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES. These extracts are taken from Vol. II. p. 293 and 422. The work has long been in the Philadelphia Library, and has been sold in every city in the United States,

“ ment, but he let it remain till a fit period for  
 “ making it felt.”

WHEN a small-lawyer gets hold of a figure of rhetorick, he uses it as awkwardly as a baby does a knife, sometimes seizing it by the handle and sometimes by the blade, while the compassionate Jury sit trembling with anxiety for the consequences. Such, Gentlemen, must have been your feelings whilst listening to the illustration of Levi. But, the nonsense of my little Moses's figure, palpable as it is, is not quite so palpable as its falsehood. It is false, *notoriously* false, to say that Mr. Cobbett never attacked the Doctor's Eulogium on Rittenhouse. He did attack it. Nor did the *arrow*, as the Israelite calls it, remain long to rankle in his side. He threatened in January, 1797, and there is not a man amongst you, who does not know, that, in his *Censor* for *the very same month of January*, he put his threat into execution. Further: which of you has not read the last “ Will and Testament of Peter Porcupine,” published in *March*, 1797; and which of you, then, does not *know*, that the Eulogium was there attacked a second time, previous to the publishing of the words laid in the declaration? The silly sans-culottish Eulogium was not only attacked, but was destroyed, and was, by the defendant and every body else, completely forgotten long before the month of September. \*

What,

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\* MR. Harper said, he had read this Eulogium *with pleasure*. If Mr. Harper was serious, he has a singular taste; for I can tell him, that it is (or was, while it was above ground) despised by every man, possessed of critical knowledge



What, then, becomes of the support, which this part of the testimony of Dewees is intended to give to the charge of *malice*?—How it dwindles and disappears!

THE latter part of this man's evidence is, like the former, merely *presumptive*, and, upon examination, it will be found to be equally destitute of weight.

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ledge, or even of common sense.---Mr. Harper (though one of my *advocates*) further observed, that it was "very *impertinent* in me to express my disapprobation of it, for, that I had "no *business* with it."---Mr. Harper's notions of *impertinence* are as singular as is his taste in literary productions. He does, however, very graciously allow, that I had "certainly a "right to find fault with it." This was going great lengths for his client; but Mr. Harper will oblige the world by explaining how I could possibly have "a right to find fault with it," if I had "no *business* with it," and if it was "*impertinence*" in me to speak against it. Mr. Harper does not know every thing. I dare say he does not know, for instance, that the vote of thanks, passed by the American Philosophical Society for this Eulogium of Rush, was carried by *mere faction*; and that, though it was said to be *unanimous*, it was actually opposed by the most learned and respectable members, amongst whom was *Bishop White*, whose well-founded objections were replied to by uncandid and bitter *political* reflections from the overbearing, insolent *Mack Kean*.---Let Mr. Harper learn a little more, before he takes upon him to reprobate and condemn the opinions and the conduct of those, whose *intentions*, at least, are as good as his own. Let him claim, let him receive and enjoy, all the popularity he deserves for his zealous, his great, and efficacious endeavours, in support of the government; but, let me conjure him, to resolve, before he undertakes another cause, never to seek to preserve that popularity by traducing the character of his client, even though that client should have the misfortune to be the subject of a king.

weight. But, Gentlemen, there is *something else*, of which, take it all together, it is also destitute.

HE has told you, that, notwithstanding he is of the school of the American Sangrado, *Mr. Cobbett employed him as a physician in his family, and, moreover, recommended him to his friends.*—As a conclusive refutation of the former part of this statement, as an unquestionable proof that Dewees was never Mr. Cobbett's physician, I might remind you, that Mr. Cobbett is *yet alive*. He might reply to this impudent assertion of the witness, in the language of Boileau's pithy epigram to Doctor Perrault, of which I will give you an humble imitation.

You say, then, you blood-sucking elf,  
That you've been our physician, all round?  
I swear that you ne'er bled myself,  
And the proof is,---*I'm yet above ground.\**

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\* “ Tu dis, donc, que tu, Monsieur l' assassin,  
“ M'as gueri d'une forte maladie:  
“ La preuve que tu ne fus pas mon médecin,  
“ C'est, que je suis encore en vie.”

It is worthy of remark, that the Satyrist here calls Doctor Perrault an *assassin*, and that, harsh as the term is, Perrault never brought an action of Slander against him: if he had, all the satisfaction he would have obtained, would have been a horse laugh.---A million instances might be produced of the great liberty enjoyed by the French writers under the much-abused Monarchy.---I am far from saying, that one man ought to be allowed to call another an *assassin*; but, a court of Justice, under the old French government, would have clearly perceived, that the words of Boileau did not tend to create a belief, that Perrault was actually a *murderer*; and they would have justly concluded, that the medical character, which was endangered by an epigram, was not worthy of the protection of the law.

FROM this evidence of Dewees, however, you are requested and almost *ordered*, to believe, that Mr. Cobbett had no real dislike to the Rushite *system*, but that his attack on the system arose from the *malice*, which he entertained against the *man*.—This conclusion, admitting the premises, is very unfair; for, the evidence does not state, that the witness was either employed or recommended, by the defendant, in cases of the *yellow fever*. Indeed, it expressly states that *he was not*; and you well *know*, that the defendant has had the *yellow fever* twice in his family, and that, it is the Rushite treatment of *this disease alone*, which the publications before you were intended to destroy.

BUT, this general reply, though quite satisfactory, shall not content me: the witness deserves to be exposed.—Being asked how long he had *attended* in Mr. Cobbett's family, he replies: "*from the return of the citizens in 1798,*" which certainly means, that he had given *all* the medical assistance required in the family, from the Autumn of 1798 to this present time, the Autumn of 1799.—Now, Gentlemen, recollect that this man was sworn to "tell the truth, the *whole* truth, and "nothing but the truth, *so help him God*;" and then I beg your attention to a true story.

DOCTOR Budd was Mr. Cobbett's family Doctor, from the time that he arrived in Philadelphia to the time that he quitted it; but, in the Summer of 1798, Doctor Budd retired into New-Jersey, where

he remained 'till the people returned to the city. Mrs. Cobbett was, at this time, pregnant, and, as a precaution, in case of need, some one was sought for to supply the place of Doctor Budd. Mr. Cobbett was situated at Bustleton, 50 miles from Doctor Budd, 12 from Philadelphia, and 8 from Dewees. Very pressing solicitations were made to Doctor Budd, who would have staid at Bustleton on purpose, had not his family demanded his presence. No one from the city could be thought on; because, besides the great risk arising from his constant employment, the gentleman engaged might die before the time arrived, and Mr. Cobbett knew that the friends, with whom he lived, had some objection to receiving into their house persons coming from the seat of infection and mortality. Under these circumstances, Dewees was applied to, but not 'till after repeated efforts had been made in vain to secure the attendance of a reputable *female* practitioner. Thus, then, Granny Dewees was introduced into the defendant's family as a last shift, a poor despicable *pis-aller*.

Mrs. Cobbett returned to the city before the child was born, and Doctor Budd would now have been the man: but, as Granny Dewees had been *best* spoken, and as he had been put to the trouble of two or three journeys to Bustleton, it was determined that he should attend; but not without the express promise from Mrs. Cobbett to her husband, that she would swallow none *of his drugs*, and that Doctor Budd should be called, if any medical assistance should be found necessary.—All terminated

minated well: Granny Dewees performed his part as expertly as any skilful dame in the parish could have done, and there ended his *attendance* for that time.

IN the summer of 1799, the parties were distributed precisely in the same way as they were in 1798. The Dysentery raged in the neighbourhood of Mr. Cobbett, who was afraid that his little boy had got the disorder, and who, thereupon, wrote a note to the *pis-aller*, Dewees, describing the state of the child, requesting him to ride over to Bustleton, and to bring with him what he thought might be of use. He attended the next day, and left a packet of powders. As soon as the man of science was gone, Mr. and Mrs. Cobbett and a young man who has long lived in the family, held a *consultation*, not on the patient, but, on the drugs; which, after a very deliberate discussion, it was unanimously resolved to *throw into the fire*.—The child recovered; Dewees attributed the recovery to his Mercurials, and has, I dare say, recorded it amongst the wonders he has wrought. He was suffered to hug himself in the deception, and there ended his “*attendance*,” in the defendant’s family, for the second and last time.

Now, Gentlemen, was this attending in Mr. Cobbett’s family “*from the Autumn of 1798?*” Dewees called at Mr. Cobbett’s in the spring of 1799, and observing a mark on the little boy’s arm, he asked if he had been innoculated. Mrs. Cobbett told him he had, and he well knew that *he* had

had not been the innoculator. He, therefore, knew that he had *not* attended in the family “*from the Autumn of 1798.*”

THIS witness being asked *who* was Mr. Cobbett’s family physician, replies: “I cannot tell.”—Hear the truth, Gentlemen. While he was attending on Mrs. Cobbett, her little daughter was taken ill. Seeing the child with all the appearances of sickness about her, he asked what remedies had been applied, and was told, that *Doctor Budd* had prescribed for her.—So that he *knew*, and could have told, *who* was the family Doctor of the defendant.

BEING asked, whether he had ever been recommended by Mr. Cobbett to any other *families*, he replies: “Yes; frequently.”—The *truth* is this. While Mr. Cobbett was at Bustleton and while the physicians were all employed or dispersed, he advised *two* neighbours, one in the *dysentery* and one with a *bleeding at the nose*, to send for the Pis-Aller, judging him to be somewhat better than no Doctor at all. *Twice* is not *frequently*. Frequently means *oftentimes* and *commonly*. Besides, if Dewees had recollected that his oath bound him, in the name of God, to tell the *whole* truth, he would have told you, that, at the very time that he was visiting these two neighbours of the defendant, another neighbour was taken ill of what was thought to be the Yellow Fever, and that Mr. Cobbett, who could have brought Dewees to the spot in an hour, sent for  
*Doctor*

*Doctor Monges*, first to Philadelphia, then into the Neck, and after that to Jenkintown, whence he was at last brought to the patient, at 12 o'clock at night!\*

WHAT, then, becomes of the evidence; what becomes of the character and the conscience, the body and the soul, of Dewees? †

BUT,

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\* By the by, this recommending and sending for Doctors to my neighbours, does not seem to be a very good proof of that *hardness of heart* and that *insignificance* in society, which the lying and ungrateful miscreants of Philadelphia have *affected* to attribute to me.---Governor Mack Kean, lawyer Hopkinson and lawyer Le: i, were, last summer, deposited in farm houses near my country retreat. I'll engage no neighbour was ever troubled with *their* solicitude for his welfare; I believe, that no one, even of the most wretched, would have listened to a recommendation from *their* lips; and I much question, if my *word* would not, amongst *any* of my neighbours, have passed for more than the joint *bond* of the three.

† I AM told, that Dewees has said, that he is *sorry* for what has happened; and, for once, I believe him most sincerely! But, it is a pity he was not taken with this fit of remorse, before he marched amongst the volunteers to the Court, to betray the private conversation of his customer.

• STRANGE to tell, *Rush* also says he is *sorry*!!!---Sympathetick soul! I dare say, it grieves him to death to be forced to receive 5,000 dollars of British money!---It is said, however, that he has gotten his *chariot* new-painted, and has spruced himself up, since the "*liberal*" decision. This does not look much like mourning. Whether his sorrow was expressed *since* the gleam of the Rush-Light began to appear, or before, I cannot ascertain.

BUT, Gentlemen of the Jury, this refutation of the verbal testimony was entirely useless to *you*. You wanted no information on the subject, but what you already possessed. You *all know of yourselves*, that when the yellow fever was in Mr. Cobbett's own family, the physicians he employed were not of the school of Sangrado; you *know*, that they were *Doctor Monges* and that very *Doctor Stevens*, whom the impudent and insolent Rush had accused of *slaying more than the sword*, and to whom the defendant, along with hundreds of others, owe the preservation of their lives. Neither you nor any other inhabitant of Philadelphia can plead ignorance of this fact. Mr. Cobbett has more than once made his *publick* acknowledgements to these preservers of himself and his family. What further information, then, can you want? You *know*, that, when he was *himself* attacked by the dreadful disease, in that awful moment, you *know* that he not only rejected the system against which he had written, but that he put himself into the hands of the very men whom your Rush had marked out as medical murderers, and thus gave to his opinion the pledge of his life! What better assurance could he give of his disbelief in Rush, and of his confidence in the opposite system! What clearer proof of his sincerity, of the purity and benevolence of his intentions, do you want! And what clearer proof, you suspicious and ungrateful people, what clearer proof can you have, unless you rip open his bosom and look into his heart!

HERE,



HERE, Gentlemen, I close my defence.—I have shown you, that the publications of the defendant are *true*; and that, with respect to his intentions, the imputation of malice is *false*. You must be convinced, that the action is vexatious and groundless; that it is a war of private interest and ambition against the safety, the happiness and the very lives of the people. Standing thus upon the firm ground of justification, I disdain hacknied invocations to the liberty of the press. The defendant stands in need of the interposition of no imaginary goddess; he seeks no shelter from new-discovered principles and new-fangled institutions; he asks no other rights, privileges or immunities, than those which the humblest of his humble forefathers enjoyed; his motto is the motto of his countrymen, *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*; from those laws, the common, the established, the ancient laws of England, and from those laws alone, he will accept of protection.—From *your* hands he begs not for mercy, but demands justice; and should you despise this demand; should you listen to the suggestions of his base persecutors, and endeavour to “make him a blighted picture of infamy and ruin,” I venture to predict, that, not only your efforts will prove impotent, but that you, and your city, will repent of your compliance. My word for it, *ruin* is not his fate. “I have been young, and am now old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.” And, though you should succeed in wresting from him the fruit of his care and his toil; though you should embitter

ter his life with domestick distress, you will, thereby, but extort fresh proofs of his fortitude and integrity, and of the baseness, the malice, the ingratitude and perfidy of his foes : you will only give lustre to his character, and stamp infamy on your own. Nay, should your friends, your neighbours, your countrymen, and the world, join in applauding an iniquitous decision ; and should you go on rejoicing to the very verge of the grave ; still, you and your accomplices should bear in mind, that all does not end there, and that death is not eternal sleep. The witnesses, to whom you have listened with such delight, are no casuists, I ween, or they would have perceived, that giving such evidence as manifestly tends to *produce a belief of what is not true*, is something very like perjury ; and that, HE who has said, “Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour,” will not be put off with subterfuges and mental reservations. Nor, would I have *you* forget, Gentlemen, that there is *another tribunal* in which you will appear, not to judge but to be judged ; and that, *affecting* to believe what you do not and what you cannot believe, though it may *here* serve as a convenient excuse, will not justify you in the presence of the Searcher of all hearts, in whose awful name you have promised to do justice ! *There* it will not be asked, whether the plaintiff were an American and a republican ; nor, whether the defendant were a Briton and a royalist : the only question, put to you, will be ;—*Have you acted according to your CONSCIENCES?*—That, and that alone, will be the subject of the inquest, and the ground of the judgment !

## NOTIFICATIONS TO THE PUBLICK.

Having now fulfilled my promise, having placed my own conduct, as well as that of my enemies, in a fair light, I shall, in future Numbers, be at liberty to treat of subjects more generally interesting. It yet remains for me, indeed, to give a narrative of the *juridical proceedings* against me; but, besides that that narrative will discover facts of the greatest publick importance, it will not occupy much room. I was advised, at the end of the second number to dismiss *Rush and his System of Deceit*, and I do hereby dismiss them with pleasure, glad to be rid of subjects so loathsome; but, I must persist in my opinion, that the discussion was necessary, and I even think that my feeble pen could, in no way whatever, have rendered the country so much service.

On the 11th instant a publication appeared in the Commercial Advertiser of this city, signed by *Lieut. John Rush*, the same fellow that assaulted poor old Doctor Ross, as mentioned in the first number of the *Rush-Light*; and another publication, signed by *Capt. John Stille*. Stille suppressed a material part of the truth, both as to his own conduct and mine, and this, he knows can be proved by two witnesses; but, the transaction altogether being of very little importance to me, to him, or to the publick, it is useless to waste the small remainder of my paper in a relation of it. The publication of *John Rush* is of a more infamous nature. He concludes a long string of insignificant falsehoods with a *slandersous* accusation of the most odious and deadly kind, of which, as it is my intention to prosecute him for it, I shall say no more at present. The publisher of this *slander*, Belden, was shown *affidavits*, regularly taken before a Notary of this city, *proving* the *falsehood* of the *slandersous* words he had published, and yet he refused to inform his readers, that those words were *false*! The atrocious slander he published *without any proof at all*; but even the proof of affidavits was not strong enough to induce him to say that that slander was *false*—this man says that he was *paid* for inserting *Rush's* letter, and the creature is ignorant enough to believe that that circumstance is a cover for his malice and a justification for his crime.—The *law* would teach him better, but that, unless he offend anew, I shall not, with respect to him, have recourse to. Let him remember, however, that he is before the tribunal of the publick, who will certainly compare his conduct with the part which he the other day published against *scandal and slander*, and who will not fail to observe, that such sentiments from him are as much out of character as a hominy would be from the lips of the devil.

In consequence of the intercessions of several of my friends in Philadelphia, and of one Gentleman in New-York, I am disposed to recede from my intention respecting *Samuel Coats*. When self-justification, or the good of the publick, require a publick exposure, there are few considerations that ought to obstruct it: but, much is also due to the voice of that faithful friendship which remains steady through the storms of adversity.

## LIST OF THE 5,000 JURY.

*Isaac Parlon*, hardwareman, No. 10 south 3d street. *Wm. Jolly*, nonnonger, No. 11 Arch street. *Joseph S. Lewis*, (nephew of Saml. Coats), merchant, No. 25 Dock street. *Isaac Au tin*, watch-maker, No. 7 Arch-street. *Thos. W. Armat*, shopkeeper, No. 21 North 2d street. *George Thompson*, shopkeeper, 129 North 3d street. *Josh Sperry Junr.* looking-glass-man. No. 105 Market street. *John Taggart*, merchant, No. 5 and 11 North Water street. *William Roberts*, house carpenter, No. 136 Chesnut street. *Archibald Bingham*, shopkeeper, No. 32 North 2d street. *Jacob Rees*, shopkeeper, No. 151 North 3d street. *Benjamin F. Garrigues*, Grocer, No. 118 South 2d street.

☞ In the last Number, I put, by mistake, *John Paxton*, instead of *Isaac Paxton*.—I have been told, that *Thos. W. Armat*, threatens to *sue me*. I wonder who has filled the pate of his Philadelphian coxcomb with *law*? Does he imagine, that, because he was “dressed up in a little brief authority,” on the 14th of December last, his conduct at that time is not to be enquired into? Does he imagine, that his having been a jurymen will render him sacred and inviolable? I am only sorry that he is too insignificant a creature to attract public attention. He puts me in mind of those little vermine, which often escape a mortal squeeze, because they are too small for us to feel them with our fingers.—I request, however, that my correspondent will not exclude this article from the English edition. The Philadelphians, in the heyday of their malignant exultation, called the decision against me an *important* one, triumphantly publishing the names of the Jurors; and as their publication never was, and never will be, read, these Jurors ought to thank me for snatching their names from oblivion.

### NOTICE

ORDERS FOR ENGLISH BOOKS will be received by William Cobbett till the 1st of May. Any books, ordered before that time, he engages to import in the Autumn. Gentlemen are requested to send, or leave, their orders *in writing*, giving the full title of the book, or at least, such an account of it as will render mistakes impossible. Orders will be received from any part of the United States, and will be punctually attended to. If those who order books do not like them after they arrive, it will be optional with themselves whether they receive them or not.

SUBSCRIPTION LISTS are also opened at Wm. Cobbett's shop for the *British Critick*, the *Anti-jacobin Magazine and Review*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Mercure Britanique*, or *British Mercury* (in French and in English), by Monsieur Mallet du Pan. These four works comprise every thing in the periodical way. The successive numbers of these works will be received at New York in two months, upon an average after their publication in London. Those that are ordered on or before the 1st of May, will be received about the first of September, after which the Subscribers will, with very little irregularity, receive them monthly, the importer having made such arrangements as cannot fail of securing punctuality on the part of his correspondents.

☞ The price of the first will be 50 cents, of the second 50 cents, of the third, 40 cents, and of the fourth, 50 cents, either in French or in English.—The e'given prices raise the Numbers only about four cents higher than they are sold in London.

# ADVERTISEMENTS.



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JUST

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A SKETCH  
OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE  
*YELLOW FEVER,*  
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With Evidences of its *Foreign Origin*, and of the different modes  
of treatment.

To which is annexed,

Two interesting Letters from *Doctor D. Hosack*, Professor of  
Botany and Materia Medica in Columbia College, respecting the  
origin of the Yellow Fever in New-York, and the most effica-  
cious mode of treating that disease.

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Fellow of the College of Physicians, and Memb. of the Am.  
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*THE PURSUITS OF LITERATURE ;*  
WITH A DEFENCE OF THE WORK,  
And a translation of the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian  
quotations, is now in the press of  
MR. JOHN DICKINS OF PHILADELPHIA,  
And will make its appearance some time in the month of  
April. The specimens which the public have already seen of  
the neatness and correctness of Mr. Dickins's press, are sufficient  
to ensure encouragement to this new, great and laudable un-  
dertaking.

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PORCUPINE'S WORKS will be published in LONDON. Rush's de-  
structive seizure at Philadelphia nearly spoiled that part of the edition, which  
was printed there, and I find that the duty on the sets to be sent to England,  
Jamaica, &c. would amount to more than the print and paper of what I have  
already done. The work will, besides, be done better in London; and, in  
that City, there are no *philanthropick* juries.—Part of the copy is already sent  
forward. To get the work out here will unavoidably take some time, but I  
trust that the increase of matter, which that time will give rise to, and the  
great advantages to be derived from perfect freedom in the printing and pub-  
lishing, will be looked upon as an ample compensation for the delay. If,  
however, there be, amongst the few American subscribers who have paid in  
advance, any one that dislikes the alteration of my plan, I am ready upon the  
first intimation, to return him his money.

☞ All applications to be supplied with these works, are requested to be  
made *before the first of May next*, because, at that time, the number of sets  
to be brought to America will be fixed on.

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THE  
*Rush-Light.*

31st MARCH, 1800.

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BEING THE FOURTH NUMBER OF VOLUME I.

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A PEEP INTO A PENNSYLVANIAN  
COURT OF JUSTICE.

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“ An Englishman loves *Liberty*, but he loves it not for  
“ the sake of the mere name ; he must have something sub-  
“ stantial that results from it ; something that he can see and  
“ feel : this he has in the freedom of his person, and the  
“ security of his property. An Englishman, therefore,  
“ thinks more of his *civil* than his *political* Liberty.”

REEVES'S THOUGHTS, &c. LET. I.

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I N the preceding Numbers of the *Rush-Light*, I have given a sketch of the parentage, and of the moral and literary character of *Rush* ; I have detailed the insolent absurdities of his general conduct, and the frightful consequences of his system of depletion ; and, I have, I trust, most satisfactorily justified the words, for the publication of which the oppressive and unprecedent judgment

y

ment was given against me, in the city of Philadelphia. Here, then, I should stop, were my design confined to a defence of my own character and to the blasting of that of my persecutors. But, as I observed in the introduction to the subject, my views extend to far greater utility; and, therefore, though the injustice towards myself is already universally acknowledged; though it has excited the indignation of every honest man; though it has roused into action, in my favour, every latent sentiment of friendship, and has, with respect to me, in a great measure, extinguished the ardent embers of political hatred; though every wish, of a private nature, is gratified even to satiety, still the publick and the world have, on me, a claim, which it would be a dereliction of duty to resist.

*The Narrative of the Juridical proceedings, in the cause of Rush, furnishes, as I observed before, a series of facts, of which, justice to the people of America, justice to foreign nations, and particularly to the deceived and infatuated in my native country, demand an ample exposure. This subject is of some importance to every man who has the slightest notion of real liberty, or the least desire to secure its enjoyment. The character and conduct of Rush, the fatal effects of his medical practice, and the decision against me, are, in different degrees, all matters of private or local consideration; but the proceedings of courts of justice, as they stamp the character of a State, and form the truest criterion of its government,*



vernment, are, in some measure, interesting to all persons, and in all places. *Political liberty* is a matter of speculation rather than of interest: it is an imaginary something of meaning undefined, and is, at best, a very distant, if not a very questionable, good. But, *civil liberty*, which is, perhaps, better expressed by the single word *justice*, is clearly defined and understood, and is ardently beloved by us all: it brings us into contact with the government, the excellence of which it makes us feel: it comes to our homes and our fire-sides; it throws a rampart round our property and a shield before our persons; it is our guide and our help through the day, and our guardian when we lie down to sleep. This is the liberty of which our forefathers were so proud: this is the liberty which their blood so often flowed to preserve to their children.—What degree of *this* liberty is enjoyed in Pennsylvania the following narrative will evince.

THE malicious suit of Rush against me was brought in the *Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania*, and my first object was, to remove the suit from that court to the circuit of the *United States*, a removal which my being an *alien* gave me a right to demand, but which was, by the Judges of the *Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, absolutely refused.

THE nature of the courts, of which I have spoken, and the extent of their jurisdiction, are understood by some few persons in America; but,

but, as I hope the Rush-light will be read in Great Britain and Ireland, some little explanation respecting these courts appears to me to be necessary.

THE several States composing those dominions, which are known to foreign nations by the title of *The United States of America*, are, so many distinct and independent Sovereignities, and not, as is generally imagined in Great Britain, so many counties or provinces. The State of Pennsylvania, for instance, has its own Governor, who is the chief executive magistrate, and whose authority is, in many respects, less limited than that of the King of Great Britain. It has, besides, its two houses of Legislators, who, with the Governor, make laws for the government of the State, and who are uncontrouled by any other power whatever. In like manner it has its own Judges, who are appointed by the Governor, but without the advice or consent of a privy or other council, and without the instrumentality of any ministers on whom responsibility will attach.

IN some of the other States, the power of the Governors is more limited; in that of New York for instance, there is a Council of Appointment; but every State is totally independent of all the others, and, as far as relates to its civil jurisdiction, it is also independent of the government of the United States. In some cases, however, the judiciary of this latter has, in all the States, what  
is

is called a *concurrent* jurisdiction; which concurrent jurisdiction is expressly provided for, in cases where an *alien* is a party.

THE constitution of the United States is very clear on this head. It says, in Sect. II. “ The  
 “ judicial power of the United States shall extend  
 “ to all controversies between a State, or citizens  
 “ thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or sub-  
 “ jects.”

IN order to obviate misconstruction, and more fully to provide for the due observance of this part of the constitution, so necessary to the security of the property of aliens, the Congress of the United States, amongst the first of its proceedings under the present Constitution, passed a law, which says: “ And be it further enacted, \* that,  
 “ if a suit be commenced in any State-Court  
 “ against an *alien*, and the matter in dispute exceeds the aforesaid sum of five hundred dollars,  
 “ exclusive of costs, to be made appear to the  
 “ satisfaction of the court; and the defendant  
 “ shall, at the time of entering his appearance  
 “ in the said State-Court, file a petition for the  
 “ removal of the cause for trial into the next circuit court of the United States, to be held in  
 “ the district where the suit is pending, and shall  
 “ offer good and sufficient surety for his entering  
 in

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\* THIS law was passed on the 24th of September, 1789. See the Laws of the United States, Vol. I. p. 56.

“ in such court, on the first day of its session,  
 “ copies of said proceedings against him, and al-  
 “ so for his there appearing and entering special  
 “ bail in the cause, if special bail was originally  
 “ requisite therein, it shall then be the *duty* of  
 “ the State-Court to accept the surety, and *pro-*  
 “ *ceed no further in the case.*”

SUCH is the provision, which the constitution and the laws of the United States have made for the security of the property of aliens ; and, whoever knows any thing of America ; whoever is in the least acquainted with the national partialities and antipathies, which mark the words and the conduct of but too many of the rulers of the individual States, must, at once, perceive, that such provision is absolutely necessary. In Pennsylvania, for instance, it was notorious, that all the influential officers of the government, executive and judiciary, bore an implacable hatred against Great Britain and all her *loyal* subjects ; and, though a *jury* stood between these rulers and the British subject, yet it was equally notorious, that that jury must be chosen by a man, who held his lucrative office *during the pleasure* of the rancorous Governor.

IN such a state of things, what justice had a Briton to expect in the courts of Pennsylvania ? — Besides, there is an absolute absurdity in his being compelled to plead in those courts ; for, who ought to administer justice to an alien, but that government who makes treaties, and  
 who

who maintains all the national intercourse, with the sovereign of that alien? What does His Britannick Majesty, or what do his subjects, know of the government, or of the courts, of Pennsylvania? They may hear of them, indeed, and they may stare at their transactions; but that is all. When a British subject contemplates on a residence, or on placing his property, in the United States, he looks up for security to the government of those United States; and, in order to estimate the security, where should he look but into the constitution and the laws, on which alone that security depends?

BUT, if British subjects in general were insecure in the courts of Pennsylvania, how much more insecure was I, against whom it was well known, that not only the Governor, his Secretary of State, and Attorney-General, but even the Chief Justice, who was to preside at the trial, had a personal and mortal grudge? I, therefore, resolved on removing the cause, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of my lawyers, who made use of every argument that could be thought of to persuade me to abandon my intention. They were fully of opinion, that there was no danger in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and that declaring myself, in open court, a subject of the King of Great Britain, would be tantamount to a declaration that monarchy was preferable to republicanism, and would, of course, not only be very offensive to the court, before whom such declaration was made, but would inevitably  
tend

tend to render me odious in the eyes of the people of Pennsylvania, and to weaken the force of all my future publications.

My lawyers were Mr. Thomas and Mr. Edward Tilghman. When this advice was given, I had every reason to suspect the former of the basest treachery; but, in the fidelity of the latter I had then, as I still have, the most implicit confidence. The reasons, however, on which the advice was grounded, were far from being satisfactory to me. Declaring myself the subject of my Sovereign was no more than the formal assertion of a truth that did me great honour; it was saying nothing for, or against, either monarchy or republicanism; and, as to its giving *offence* to the court, or to the people of America, the idea appeared to me perfectly absurd. What! said I, you enter into a solemn treaty with my king, in which treaty you recognize my right, as a British subject, to come and live and carry on trade amongst you, in return for which recognition you receive an equivalent; and, you have, after this, the assurance to tell me, that I must forbear to plead my title of British subject, forego the protection it offers me, and passively submit to injustice and ruin, lest the court and the people of Pennsylvania should be *offended*! What, added I, would you say, were such advice as this given to an American, living in the British dominions? What would you say, were he told, that, to disown and forswear his country were the only means of avoiding legal injustice and publick odium?

odium? And what, in the name of God! What pretensions has an American to superiority over a Briton! Is his country more dear to him than mine is to me? Are his fellow-citizens more honest and more generous than my fellow-subjects; are they more famous for learning and for noble deeds? Are his rulers more powerful, more wise, more magnanimous, or more just, than my sovereign, who, though his fleets command the ocean, though he is the arbiter of nations and the acknowledged saviour of the civilized world, makes his chief glory consist in being the defender, the friend, the father, of his people?

IN vain was I told, that my plea was without precedent; and that it had been made by no British subject, since the revolution. If this were the case, I thought it was high time that it should be made, and that we should cease to accept of safety and respect on such degrading conditions. Accordingly, at the first meeting of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania I presented, in compliance with the law above quoted, the following petition, which I now copy from the record.

Benjamin Rush	} Supreme Court of Pennsylvania,
v.	
William Cobbett.	} Case December Term, No. 3.

To the Honourable the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

THE Petition of William Cobbett the Defendant in the above action, an Alien and a subject of the King of Great Britain, humbly sheweth,

Z

THAT

THAT he issued in the action above mentioned, in which the matter in di pute exceeds the sum or value of five hundred dollars, exclusive of costs; that he is desirous to remove the said cause for trial into the next Circuit-Court of the United States, to be holden for the District of Pennsylvania, and hath good and sufficient security, ready here in court, to engage for his entering in said Circuit-Court, on the first day of its session, a copy of the process in the said action agreeably to the Act, entitled, "*An Act to establish the Judicial Courts of the United States,*" and also for his appearing in the said Circuit-Court; He therefore prays the Honourable the Court, that security may be taken for the purpose aforesaid, and that the said cause may be removed to the said Circuit-Court of the United States accordingly.

*Philadelphia,*  
30th Dec. 1797. }

WILLIAM COBBETT.

WILLIAM COBBETT, being duly sworn, saith that the facts within stated are true.

30th Decr. 1797.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

THE consideration of this petition was put off to the next session, which was held in March, 1798. But, before I proceed to relate the fate of it, I cannot help remarking on the sensations, which its presentation produced in the court and the auditory. It was towards the evening of the last day of the session, when Mr. Thomas, albeit unused to the modest mood, stole up gently from his seat, and, in a faint and trembling voice, told the Bashaw, M'c Kean, that he had a petition to present in behalf of William Cobbett. For some time he did not make himself heard. There was a great talking all round the bar; Levi, the lawyer, was reading a long formal paper to the Judges, and the Judges were laughing over the chit-chat of the day. Amidst the noisy mirth that surrounded

ed



ed him there stood poor Thomas, with his papers in his hands, like a culprit at school, just as the boys are breaking up. By-and-by, one of those pauses, which frequently occur in even the most numerous and vociferous assemblies, encouraged him to make a fresh attempt. "I present," says he, "may it please your honours, a petition in behalf of William Cobbett." The moment the sound of the word *Cobbett* struck the ear of M<sup>c</sup> Kean he turned towards the bar, and, having learnt the subject of the petition, began to storm like a madman. A dead silence ensued. The little scrubby lawyers (with whom the courts of Pennsylvania are continually crowded) crouched down for fear, just like a brood of poultry, when the kite is preparing to pounce in amongst them, whilst hapless Thomas, who stood up piping like a straggle chicken, seemed already to feel the talons of the judicial bird of prey. He proceeded, however, to read the petition, which, being very short, was got through with little interruption. When he came to the words, "*subject of His Britannick Majesty,*" M<sup>c</sup> Kean did, indeed, grin most horribly, and I could very distinctly hear, "*insolent scoundrel!*"—" *damned aristocrat!*"—" *damned Englishman!*" &c. &c. from the mouths of sovereign people. But, neither these execrations, nor the savage looks that accompanied them, prevented me from fulfilling my purpose. I went up to the clerk of the court, took the book in my hand, and, holding it up that it might be visible in all parts of the hall, I swore, in a voice that every one might hear, that

I pre-

I preserved my allegiance to my King; after which I put on my hat and walked out of court, followed by the admiration of the few and by the curses of the many.

THE consideration of the petition was, as I before observed, postponed till March term; which gave kite M'c Kean time to ruminate on the novel adventure. On the one hand, was a violation of the constitution and laws of the General Government; on the other, the escape of his prey. "Of two evils," says the proverb, "choose the least;" and kite M'c Kean chose, on this occasion, just as any other kite would have chosen. When the court met, he did, indeed, listen, for about an hour, to a sort of contention, which Thomas and Hopkinson called *law-argument*, and which was full as edifying, though not quite so entertaining, as the disputes, with which I had frequently been delighted, between Punchinello and the Devil. While the lawyers were *arguing*, the judges were engaged in a conversation, which, from the marks of risibility apparent on their countenances, seemed to be much more diverting than the contest between the puppets of the bar; when, therefore, this pleasant conversation was over, M'c Kean turned his head towards Hopkinson, and bawled out: "*ha'nt you most done!*" This put an end to the *law-argument*, in a moment. No show-man, with the help of his wire, ever produced more ready or more implicit obedience; and kite M'c Kean now hastened to put an end to the farce, by declaring, without the least hesitation,

tation, without consulting his associates, and without giving any reason whatever for his decision, *that the petition of William Cobbett should not be granted.*\*

SUCH is the manner, in which *written* constitutions are observed! That indefatigable constitution grinder, Tom Paine, told his silly partizans in England, that they had *no constitution at all*; and this he represented as a most insupportable grievance. "Now," says he, "in America it is

\* READ THIS NOTE!—As I was going into the court-house to hear this decision, I met *Mr. Coale*, a young man who lived and studied with Hopkinson, the lawyer of Rush. After the usual interchange of civilities, the following dialogue ensued, the correctness of which I am ready to vouch for upon oath.

*Coale.*—What are you doing here? You are going to remove your cause, are you not?

*Cobbett.*—Yes.

*Coale.*—Then you w'ont succeed.

*Cobbett.*—Why? How do you know I sha'n't?

*Coale.*—Why, *the court are against you*, I can tell you that.

*Cobbett.*—What! have they decided, then, before they have heard the parties? They surely cannot be such barefaced rascals?

*Coale.*—Well! you'll see.

And, sure enough, I did see, in a very little time.—Now, let the reader observe, that this *Mr. Coale* was in all the secrets of the lawyer of Rush; let him compare *Coale's* prediction with the decision of the court, and with the manner in which that decision was given; and then I leave him to form his own judgement of the motives from which the petition was rejected.

“ is not so. If you ask an American citizen  
 “ whether a certain procedure be constitutional,  
 “ or not, he takes down the book from the shelf,  
 “ opens it, turns to the article that treats of the  
 “ subject in question, and gives you an answer in  
 “ a moment.”—Very true, Thomas, so you see, I  
 took down my copy of the constitution and of the  
 constitutional law; I turned to the article and the  
 section that treated of the subject in question, and  
 I prayed the judges to grant me my petition ac-  
 cordingly; but the judges laughed at me and the  
 constitution too!

BUT, says the reader, is there no redress in such  
 cases?—None at all.—The constitution, which  
 has made, with aliens, this solemn covenant for  
 the security of their property, has made no provi-  
 sion for carrying it into effect, in opposition to the  
 will of such men as M<sup>c</sup> Kean. Indeed, there  
 seems to be an intentional omission here. The  
 Federal Government promises protection to every  
 alien; but, in case he should be oppressed by  
 the State-Governments, it takes care, *by omitting*  
*to provide for redress*, to shift all responsibility  
 from itself. Had I petitioned the Chief Justice  
 of the United States to quash the proceedings  
 against me, he would have replied (if, indeed, he  
 had given me any answer at all), that he had no  
 controul over the courts of Pennsylvania, any  
 more than over the courts of King’s Bench in  
 England; and, were I now to petition the Presi-  
 dent, to show him how I have been injured by a  
 violation of the constitution, and to beseech him  
 to

to give me redress, his reply would be similar to that of the Chief Justice; he would tell me that the government of Pennsylvania is a government totally independent of him, and that he can, in no way, undo what it, or its judiciary, does. This is but too true; but does this diminish my loss? Does it do away the oppression? If the Federal Government has not the *power* to protect an alien, it should not *promise him protection*. The Government has, by its constitution and laws, proclaimed to foreign nations, that the property of aliens is under the safe-guard of its courts; and, when these aliens are harrassed and ruined by the unjust and tyrannical proceedings of the State-Governments, shall the Federal Government get rid of its responsibility by pleading its want of power? The government of the United States has stipulated with my sovereign, that his subjects (and I amongst the rest) shall have a right to live and carry on business here, being subject to the laws of the country, which laws provide that I shall have a right to remove my cause into the Federal courts. And shall this government now say, that it is not responsible for my having been deprived of this right? If this be the case, neither would it have been responsible for the conduct of the governor of Pennsylvania, had he banished me from the State. To *stipulate* always implies the power to *fulfil*; any other idea of stipulation is absurd; and, if the power to fulfil does not exist, to stipulate is to delude.

THE vindictive judge of Pennsylvania having  
thus

thus determined not to let go his grasp, I was compelled to submit to his jurisdiction, with very little hope of escaping a ruinous decision. I did, however, take every precaution that was in my power; I employed Messrs. Edward Tilghman and Wm. Rawle as my counsellors, and to them I afterwards added Mr. Harper, a man on whose talents and whose spirit I placed a perfect reliance. The necessary steps were also taken to insure a special jury, who, it was thought by my lawyers and my friends, would be a sufficient protection against the intrigues of the plaintiff and the tyranny of the court.

At the next term, Sept. 1798, I was served with a jury list, which I struck; but the trial was put off. I was served with another jury list at Dec. term, 1798; with another at March term, 1799; with another at September term, 1799; and, at every term, though the juries were always struck by me, and though I was always ready, the trial was put off. At last, on the 13th of December, 1799, it was resolved to bring it to issue. The moment I saw the *jury-list*, "ah!" said I, to a friend that happened to be with me, "the action of Rush is to be tried this time." We looked over the list again and again, and, after the most mature consideration, we could find but 7 men, out of the 48, whom we thought fit to be trusted on the trial; but as I had the power of rejecting no more than 12, there were left, of course, 29 whom I disapproved of, to the 7 whom I approved

proved of; and, as every one of these 7 were struck off by Rush, there remained not a single man on the jury, in whose integrity I had the slightest confidence.

BUT, there were other circumstances highly advantageous to my adversary. M'c Kean; the kite-like Chief Justice, who is better known in England under the title of the *Democratick Judge*, was now become *Governor* of the State, and had, by the early exercise of his power, struck terror into all officers under his controul. *Shippen* was the senior justice on the bench of the supreme court, and he was in eager expectation of succeeding to the post of Chief-Justice; but, M'c Kean kept him in suspence, in a sort of state of probation, 'till the action of *Rush* against me should be decided!!!

SINGULARLY favourable, however, as these circumstances were, there was another, still more favourable, wanted, to encourage the American Sangrado to push the cause on to trial: which was, *my absence from Philadelphia*. I had, several months before, publickly signified my resolution to quit Pennsylvania, if M'c Kean should be elected Governor of the State; and every one knew I should be as good as my word. Indeed, it was known, that my books, furniture, &c. &c. were already sent off to New-York; but I remained in the neighbourhood of the city, (where I was seen every day) in order to be present at the trial, if it should come on. On the 7th of

December there was no prospect of the cause being brought to trial; on the 8th, therefore, I came off for New-York, where my affairs required my presence. On the 11th, my correspondent wrote me, that the cause was put off to another court; but, the *very next day*, it was, all at once, resolved to bring it to trial immediately. This sudden change was produced by an advertisement of mine, signifying *my arrival at New-York and my resolution to drop the publication of Porcupine's Gazette*. Sure, therefore, of all the advantages to be derived from my absence, and relieved from all apprehensions on the score of my future writings, the dastardly wretches at last ventured on the execution of their long-meditated revenge! \*

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\* I HAVE before observed, that Thomas, my lawyer, was bribed. I have the most satisfactory proof of this, and I will, in my *Biography of the Pennsylvanian Bar*, which shall appear in a future Number of the *Rush-Light*, give a full account of the matter.

HOPKINSON, the principle tool of Rush, went to Mr. Fenno's father in the Summer of 1798, and advised him to prevail on his son, the present Mr. John Ward Fenno, to compromise with Doctor Rush. "As to Cobbett," said he, "*he is to be ruined.*" Mr. Fenno scorned the conditions.

MR. Edward Tilghman told me, that the very judges who sat on this trial, had declared their resolution of "*pinching*" the *first* slanderer who should come into their clutches. And, observe, that they said this *long after* the action was brought against me, and also *long after they knew* that *I was the first* upon the docket for slander: so that, their



IN what manner the cause was conducted, on the part of Rush's lawyers, has already been partially noticed. The evidence has also been examined and *exposed*: it, therefore, only remains for me to insert, and to make a few comments on, the charge of Judge Shippen.

GENTLEMEN,

**T**HIS is an action brought by the Plaintiff against the Defendant for writing, printing and publishing divers scandalous libels, to defame and villify him. The defendant has pleaded that he is not guilty;—his counsel, however have acknowledged the publication of the papers, which, otherwise, it would have been incumbent on the plaintiff to prove. The question, therefore, will be, whether they amount in law to defamatory libels or not?

*By the law and practice in England, in the case of libels, the only task of the jury is, to judge of the fact of publication, and the truth and fair application of the innuendos. The court, as judges of the law, reserving to themselves the sole power of deciding whether the paper amounts to a libel or not: But in this state, by the special directions of our constitution, the jury possess the power of judging both of the law and fact, under the direction of the court.*

A libel is defined by the law, to be the malicious defamation, expressed either in printing or writing, or by signs or pictures,

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their previous declaration appears clearly to have been thrown out, in order to give the colour of *impartiality* to the decision, which they meditated *against me*.—Let me not be accused of making an improper use of the information given me by Mr. Tilghman; he did not tell it me as a communication made to him in confidence; he did not give it me as a secret; and, indeed, it was *publicly spoken of* in the city, and was intended to be spoken of, for the purpose before mentioned.

pictures, tending to blacken either the memory of one who is dead, or the reputation of one who is alive, or to expose him to public hatred, contempt or ridicule. This offence may be punished, either by indictment at the suit of the commonwealth, or by a civil action at the suit of the party injured. When the prosecution is by indictment, the court only are to direct the punishment; but in a civil suit, the damages are to be assessed solely by the jury.

The charges laid against the defendant in the declaration are various; but they may be reduced in substance to the following.---That he repeatedly calls the plaintiff a quack, an empiric; charges him with intemperate bleeding, injudiciously administering Mercury in large doses in the yellow-fever; puffing himself off; writing letters and answering them himself, stiling him the Sampson in Medicine; charging him *with murdering his patients and slaying his thousands, and tens of thousands.*

The counts laid in the declaration is full proved by the publications which are certainly libellous. In what manner do the defendant's counsel repel these proofs? Not by justifying the truth of the matters charged against Dr. Rush, *which on the contrary they have repeatedly acknowledged to be false,* but by analyzing the several allegations in the newspapers, and from thence drawing a conclusion that no intentional personal malice appears, which they say is the essence of the offence.---Malice rests in the heart, and is only to be judged of by the words and actions of the party; the words themselves import malice, and in that case the proof lies on the defendant to shew the innocence of his intentions; if he has done that to your satisfaction, you will acquit him; but as this is chiefly founded on the allegation that the attack was meant to be made on Dr. Rush's System, and not on the man; *it unfortunately appears that not the least attempt is made to combat the Doctor's arguments with regard to the system itself,* but the attack is made merely by gross scurrilous abuse of the Doctor himself: Added to this, one of the witnesses proves a declaration made by the defendant, *that if Doctor Rush had not been the Man he should never have meddled with the System.*

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Another ground of defence is of a more serious nature as it leads to an important question on our constitution---it is said that the subject of dispute between the plaintiff and defendant was a matter of public concern, as it related to the health and lives of our fellow citizens, and that by the words of our constitution, every man has a right to discuss such subjects in print. The liberty of the press, gentlemen, is a valuable right in every free country, and ought never to be unduly restrained; but when it is perverted to the purposes of private slander, it then becomes a most destructive engine in the hands of unprincipled men; the utmost purity and integrity of heart, is no shield against the shafts and arrows of malice conveyed to the world by printed publications. Verbal slander may be frequently very injurious, but slander writing or print being more generally disseminated and more durable in its effects, is consequently infinitely more pernicious and provoking. Our state constitution of 1790, contains certainly very general words with relation to the right of a citizen to print his thoughts and offer them to the consideration of the public, but it at the same time guard against the generality of the privilege, by expressly declaring, that every person availing himself of the liberty of the press, should be responsible for the abuse of that liberty; thus securing to our citizens the invaluable right of reputation against every malicious invader of it.

Printed publications attacking private character, is considered with great reason by the law as a very atrocious offence, from its evident tendency to the breach of the public peace---if men find they can have no redress in our courts of justice for such injuries, they will naturally take satisfaction in their own way, involving perhaps their friends and families in the contest, and leading evidently to duels, murders, and perhaps to assassinations.

The principal subject of consideration with the jury will be what damages they are to assess. On this subject you are the ALMOST uncontrollable judges---it is your peculiar province :---The court have indeed the power to order a new trial where damages are excessive; but in cases of torts and injuries of this kind, the law books say the damages must be so outrageously

*outrageously disproportionate to the offence, as at first blush to shock every person who hears of it, before the court will order a new trial.*

Every one must know that offences of this kind have for some time past too much abounded in our city; *it seems high time to restrain them---that task is with you, Gentlemen. To suppress so great an evil, it will not only be proper to give compensatory, but exemplary damages; thus stopping the growing progress of this daring crime---at the same time, the damages should not be so enormous as absolutely to ruin the offender.*

I hope no party considerations will ever have place in this court in the administration of Justice---and I entreat you, Gentlemen, to banish them, in considering this subject, entirely from your breasts:

*Peter Porcupine to Judge Shippen.*

SIR,

The Charge, which you gave against me, on the 14th of December last, has given rise to a very interesting question amongst the gentlemen of the robe at New-York; to wit:—which is its prominent characteristick, *stupidity* or *malice*?—This is a question far too knotty for me to presume to decide; but, with all due submission to your honour and the honourable Judge Brakenridge, who sits on your right hand, I think I may venture to throw some light on the subject; and in doing this, I will endeavour to forget your private character, that it may not extort from me language derogatory to my own.

Yours

You say: "By the law and practice in *England*, in the the case of libels, the *only task* of the Jury is, to judge of the fact of publication, and the truth and fair application of the innuendoes: the court, as judges of the law, reserving to themselves the sole power of deciding whether the paper amounts to a libel or not. But, in *this State*, by the special directions of our constitution, the Jury possess the power of judging both of the law and fact, under the direction of the court."

PRAY, Sir, what are we to call this? Are we to consider it as one of those stale tricks, which have been so long practised for the purpose of making the Pennsylvanians believe, that they enjoy *more liberty* than their *former* fellow-subjects enjoy; or, must we look upon it as intended to flatter the jury, and give them a high opinion of their power? If the former; if your intention were merely to keep the poor sovereign people in good humour with their present rulers, there is not much to be said: self-preservation is the first law of nature. But, if your design were, by puffing up the pride of the jury, to embolden them to gratify your and their private wishes, at the expence of justice; if this were your motive; what do you deserve?

BE your motive, however, what it might; whether the object you had in view were to obtain and secure a good post for yourself, or, to  
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ruin me; whatever might be your end, your means were most vile; Your statement respecting "*the law and practice in England*" was a shameful *falsehood*, and would have been a disgrace to any other Bench than that from which it came.—"Whereas" says the English law, "*doubts have arisen, whether, on the trial of an indictment or information, for the making or publishing any libel, where an issue or issues are joined, between the King and the defendant, or defendants, on the plea of not guilty pleaded, it be competent to the Jury impannelled to try the same, to give their verdict upon the whole matter in issue.*"—Be it therefore *declared* and enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That, on every such trial, the Jury sworn to try the issue, may give a *general verdict* of guilty or not guilty *upon the whole matter put in issue* upon such indictment or information; and shall *not* be required or directed, by the court or Judge, before whom such indictment or information shall be tried, to find the defendant or defendants guilty, merely on the proof of the publication by such defendant or defendants of the paper charged to be a libel, and of the sense ascribed to the same in the such indictment or information."—ACT GEO. III. C. 60. A. D. 1792.

THIS act was passed in 1792; but you will observe (if, indeed, you understand the meaning of

of the words), that it is a *declaratory* act ; an act made to remove doubts, to explain and to declare what *was then*, and what *always had been*, the law of the land. You will observe too, if you are capable of comprehending the distinction, that this act declares the right of the jury to decide upon *the whole* matter put in issue even upon an *indictment* or *information*, from which you will perceive, that, this right, in civil actions, never was disputed, never was even a matter of *doubt*. So that, it appears, Mr. Shippen, that your boasted Pennsylvanian Constitution has given the people no *new* rights ; it appears that the sovereign citizens, whom you help to rule, enjoy, even nominally, no greater liberty of the press than they would still have enjoyed, had they remained the subjects of a king ; and, it necessarily follows, that you were wretchedly ignorant of both the statute and common law of England, or that you advanced a wilful and most barefaced *falsehood*.

YOUR definition of the law, and your enumeration of the charges laid against me, which are really too stupid to deserve a comment, conclude with asserting, that the declaration charges me with having accused Doctor Rush “ with *murdering* his patients, and slaying *his* thousands and “ tens of thousands.”—What could induce you to make this false, this impudent assertion ? Neither the word *murder*, nor any of its derivatives, nor any word that is synonymous with it or any one of its derivatives, is to be found in the publications laid in the declaration. The passage, to

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which you evidently allude, is, I trust, fully justified in the 3rd number of the Rush-Light, but, lest that number should have been kept from your sight by the operation of that *free* constitution, which you so consistently boast of, I shall insert it here.—“ Doctor Rush, in that emphatical style “ which is peculiar to himself, calls mercury the “ Sampson of medicine. In his hands, *and in* “ those of his partizans, it may, indeed, be justly “ compared to Sampson; for, I verily believe, that “ they have slain more Americans with it, than “ ever Sampson slew of the Philistines. The Is- “ realite slew his thousands, but the *Rushites* have “ slain *their* tens of thousands.”—Now, is this, as you say it is, charging Doctor Rush “ with mur- “ dering his patients, and slaying *his* thousands “ and tens of thousands?” So shameful a perversion of a man’s words, had it been made use of by a *pleader*, in England, would have been severely reprovèd by the court; what, then, will Englishmen think of a *judge* who could be guilty of it! And what will they, what must they, think of the government, under which such a man is a judge!

CONTINUING in your pleader-like strain, you observe, that the counsel of the defendant do not repel the charges brought against him “ by justifying the truth of the publications, but that, “ on the contrary, they have *repeatedly acknowledged those publications to be false.*”—It is true, indeed, that my counsel, to their shame be it spoken, did not justify the truth of the publications  
laid



laid in the declaration; but, that they *might* have justified, every man in America knows well, and you knew, that they *would* have done it, had their client not been an Englishman, and had they not, like you, been in fear of M'c Kean and of your brother slaves who filled your *tribunes* and crouded round your bench.\*

IN your zeal for the plaintiff you did, however, go too far; for my *counsel*, tame and submissive as they were, did not "repeatedly acknowledge the publications to be *false*." Neither Mr. Tilghman, nor Mr. Rawle, did, in any one instance, make such an acknowledgment. Nor was even the trimming, mob-courting Harper guilty of baseness and treachery to the extent that you have imputed to him. He did, indeed, say, more than once, that he "*believed*" the publications were "*very untrue*;" but he made no *unqualified* acknowledgment of their being *false*. He went far enough, in all conscience, against a cause, which he was well paid to support: his conduct wanted no colouring: you might, therefore, have spared the daubings of your awkward brush.

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\* THE few faint attempts that were made, by Messrs. Tilghman and Rawle, to repel the abominable aspersions, which were cast on my character and conduct, were replied to by hissing and cursing from the sovereign people in the gallery and in the area of the court-house. Nor did this most scandalous behaviour receive any reproof from the court.

“It appears,” say you, “that *not the least at-*  
 “*tempt* is made [in the publications against Rush]  
 “to combat the Doctor’s arguments, with regard  
 “to the *system itself*.” If you had been candid, if  
 you had remembered your oath, you would have  
 observed further, that the publications for which  
 I was sued, made only *a part* of those which ap-  
 peared against Rush and his system of depletion;  
 you would, therefore, have said nothing on this  
 head, unless you had found, upon an examination  
 of Porcupine’s Gazette, from which the pretended  
 libels were extracted, that I had never accompa-  
 nied these pretended libels with serious argu-  
 ments against the wild and destructive opinions and  
 practice of the plaintiff. “But,” say you, “ad-  
 “ded to this, one of the witnesses *proves* a de-  
 “claration made by the defendant, that *if Doctor*  
 “*Rush had not been the man, he should never have*  
 “*meddled with the system*.”—Atrocious falshood!  
 —The words of the witness, Doctor Coxe, as  
 reported in the account of the trial, are these:—  
 “He [the defendant] replied, that he did not *be-*  
 “*lieve* he should ever have said *so much* on bleed-  
 “ing and mercurials, if Doctor Rush had not  
 “been the author of it.”—Was this declaring,  
 that *if Doctor Rush had not been the man, I*  
 “*NEVER* should have *MEDDLED* with the  
 “*system!*” When you summed up this evi-  
 dence, were you thinking of the office you filled,  
 or of that which you were in hopes of filling?  
 Were you afraid of being out-stripped in the hon-  
 ourable course by either of your worthy compeers?  
 It must be confessed, that such a fear was not un-  
 reasonable;

reasonable; for, so well are you matched, that, had you started together, it is a moot point with me, which of the three would have won the prize.

BUT, a misconstruction of the publications, and a perversion of the evidence, did not satisfy you: you seem to have been still afraid, that, in spite of such cheering encouragement, the jury might have some scruples; and, therefore, you took care to conclude with giving them an assurance, that, provided they laid on damages enough, their verdict should be approved of by you.—“The principle subject of consideration, with the Jury, will be,” say you, “*what damages they are to assess.*” You then proceed to tell them, that they are “the *almost* uncontrollable judges on this subject,” and that, “though the court has it in its power to order a new trial, in case of excessive damages; yet, that, in cases of torts and injuries of *this kind*, the *law books* say the damages must be so *outrageously* disproportionate to the offence, as, at *first blush*, to SHOCK every person who hears of it, before the court will order a new trial!!!”

BRAVO! Vivat Respublica! Huzza for “our glorious revolution!” Huzza for the sovereign people! Vive la liberté!—But, in the midst of all this rejoicing, I had almost forgot to ask you, *what law books* you found this maxim in. In those of Robespierre and Fouquier Tinville, I suppose? or, perchance in those of Pennsylvania, or of Algiers? Find it where you will, however, you have applied

applied it, and you and your country are entitled to all the honour it confers. I would give a thousand dollars, if Old Price were yet alive, to have an opportunity of sticking this Charge of yours in one of the curls of his wig.—Here, you wayward and discontented Britons, who are hankering after republicanism; look here! Here you see a complete specimen of the blessings of *liberty* and *reform*! Were one of your judges to declare, that, in order to induce him to grant a new trial, the punishment, for calling a man a quack, must be so outrageously cruel as, at *first blush*, to SHOCK every person who hears of it, you would stone him to death; you would shun his touch, as you would the touch of a hang-man; but, were you in Pennsylvania only for one month, were you once “ameliorated” in the philanthropick city of Philadelphia, were you sovereign citizens instead of subjects, you would listen to him as patiently and submissively as a penitent does to his father confessor!

BEGGING your *Honour's* pardon for this digression, I return to you and your jury.—Having promised them, that there should be no check upon their rapacity, you dismiss them with putting into their mouths a pretext for their conduct. “Every one,” say you, “must know, that offences of this kind have, *for some time past*, too much abounded in our city: it seems high time to restrain them—that task is with you gentlemen. To suppress so great an evil, it will not only be proper to give *compensatory*, but *exemplary* damages;

“ mages ; thus stopping the growing progress of  
 “ this daring crime—at the same time the dama-  
 “ ges should not be so enormous as *absolutely* to  
 “ ruin the offender.”

THE doctrine of *exemplary* damages is new, and it certainly is as efficacious an instrument of oppression as ever was devised. The very word *damages* excludes every idea of *punishment*. It implies *compensation* for *injuries* ; and no jury can, without being foresworn, give a farthing more than what they believe to be *the amount of the injury* ; for, if *example* be the object of prosecution, the process ought to be by indictment, or information.

It has sometimes happened, that actions, similar to that of Rush, have been brought by noblemen and gentlemen, in England, who have preferred the civil to the criminal process, merely to challenge an investigation ; because the former allows the defendant to justify the truth of his words, which the latter does not. The damages, if any are given, in such a case, must be given for the sake of *example* ; for, it rarely happens that the slander is productive of any real injury to the plaintiff. Such were the actions brought by Lord Sandwich, in 1773, and by the Right Hon. William Pitt, in 1786 ; in both which cases damages were given, though it was next to impossible that the plaintiffs could have sustained any injury. But, Mr. Shippen, there is some little difference between these noblemen and a boasting  
 inventor

inventor of purging powders. Neither Lord Sandwich nor Mr. Pitt could receive a *compensation*; yet, as they were charged with malversation in office, a civil process was necessary to clear up their characters; and, as neither fine nor imprisonment could take place upon such an action, damages were given for the sake of *example*. But, in the case of a bleeder, or powder doctor, all the jury had to do, if they found the publications false and malicious; was, to ascertain, to the best of their judgements, the amount of the real injury the fellow had sustained, and to assess, as damages, a sum just to that amount, and no more.

BUT whatever may have been the custom, in England, respecting the legality of assessing exemplary damages, it is most certain that, as to the *sum* to be assessed, no judge ever attempted, no judge ever dared attempt, to dictate to the jury. The following extract, from a charge of Lord Mansfield, shows how careful he was not to encroach on the exclusive province of the jury to estimate damages —“ I will not say a word to you about the damages. I am sure no observations, on any side, can occur, which you are not capable of making yourselves. You will take the paper out with you, and will consider all the circumstances of the case, of a publick or private nature.”—This charge was delivered in an action of *scandalum magnatum* (defamation of a nobleman) brought by Lord Sandwich against the printer of the London Evening Post, for the publication of a piece signed Alfred, on the 2d of Feb.

Feb. 1773, in which his Lordship, then first Lord of the Admiralty, was falsely accused of having exposed to sale the office of Commissioner of the Navy for the sum of £.2,000. And this instance of Lord Mansfield's forbearance is the more applicable, and forcible, as he was always charged (though I believe very unjustly) with bending the law to favour the Ministerial side of the question, and to extend the power of the judges as far as possible. If he could have found any precedent, or have invented any plausible motive, for encroaching on this undoubted province of the jury, he would not, it is to be presumed, have scrupled to use it on such an occasion.

ANOTHER, and still more striking, contrast to your charge is to be found in that of Lord Mansfield's, delivered in the action of Mr. Pitt against the printers of the General Advertiser and the Morning Herald; who accused him, he being at the time Chancellor of the Exchequer, of *gambling in the stocks with the money of the nation*. Lord Mansfield closed his charge thus: "The assessing of the damages is *entirely* in your province. *I shall not say a word upon it*. You will consider them under all the circumstances of the case, the malignity and the extent, and, for the sake of example, you will give those damages *you think proper*." \*

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\* The damages given for *falsly* accusing Mr. Pitt of this heinous offence was 250l.---British printers, bless your kind stars!!

THIS is the language of an *English* judge. How different is it from yours! Lord Mansfield tells the jury, that, to estimate the damages is *entirely* in their province; that he shall *not say a word upon it*. You tell your sovereign men, that they are, indeed, the *almost* uncontrollable judges of damages, and you promise them, that, their verdict shall not be set aside, unless it be so outrageously cruel as, at first blush, to *shock* every person who hears of it! The libel on Mr. Pitt was a most atrocious one, yet Lord Mansfield forbears to suggest the propriety of great damages, and tells the jury to give what they think proper, for *the sake of example only*, but you call for damages *both compensatory and exemplary*; you urge them to bring upon the head of the defendant the consequences of both a civil and a criminal prosecution! You do, indeed, observe to them, that “the damages must not be so enormous as *absolutely to ruin* the offender.” This was a wholesome caution: it was telling them how far they might go, without endangering the success of the scheme: it was saying to them; ‘ruin him in effect but take care to do it in such a way as will not defeat our intention. Bilk him, embarrass him, break up his business, and plunge him into debt; but be careful not to let your malice so far overshoot the mark, as to leave us no excuse for confirming your verdict.’—This was pretty language from a court to a jury! The jury followed your directions with great exactness, and the malignant slaves thought they had given me  
a deadly



a deadly blow; but, that blow, while it has had no effect on me, has recoiled with redoubled force on themselves, their accomplices, and their city.

BUT, your pretext for recommending a ruinous verdict, is, if possible, more atrocious than the recommendation itself. "Offences of this kind," say you, "have, *for some time past*, too much abounded in our city; *it seems high time to restrain them*—that task is with you, Gentlemen."—So; because offences of the same kind had abounded in the city, because they had passed unnoticed, because they had been tolerated, and because it seemed high time to restrain them, I was to be all but *absolutely* ruined; I was to suffer for what all others had done, and also for the negligence of courts and juries! Precious justice this!

YES; offences, not of "*this kind*," but of a much worse kind, had, indeed, for a long time abounded in your city. Libels the most false, scandalous, and malicious; publications the most obscene, and most impious, had long, abounded, and do still abound; and had I shared in these publications, not a farthing damages would ever have been given against me. But, I was a British subject, I had defended the character of my king and country against the infamous calumnies that you and your associates suffered to be propagated; I had exposed the little despots of Pennsylvania; I had contrasted their character with that of the king, against whom they were continually endeavouring to revive the animosity of the people; and  
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it was for this, and this alone, that you and your associates hated me. At the very moment when you gave this scandalous charge, when you called aloud for ruin on my head, you were perfectly convinced, that I had rendered America essential services; you knew, that my character was unblemished, and that my conduct, as a publisher, was singularly laudable; you knew that I never wilfully published a *falsehood*; you knew that, as a book-seller, I never gave circulation to a seditious, an irreligious, or an immoral publication, but that, on the contrary, I had constantly endeavoured to obstruct the progress of such works, and that I had been the patron of every effort to counteract their deleterious effects. All this you knew, and with all this in your mind, you uttered the malignant Charge, which I this day rescue from that oblivion, to which its stupidity had condemned it.

ONE fact only remains to be narrated, and a most valuable one it is. I beg every New-Yorker and every Englishman to pay good attention to it, and to bless God for not having placed them under the jurisdiction of a Pennsylvanian Judge.

THE trial was begun on the 13th, and the 5,000 dollar Verdict was given on the 14th, of December. It is well known, that, after every verdict, *four days* are allowed, previous to entering up the judgment, in order to enable the defendant to prepare for application for an arrest of judgment. On the 17th, therefore, my counselor, Mr. Edward Tilghman, made a motion for a  
rule

rite to shew cause why the verdict and judgment should not be set aside for excessiveness of damages, which motion was rejected by you and your associates. Well might you reject it! for, on the 16th, the *day before* you refused the new trial, I was *actually arrested*, for the 5,000 dollars, at New York! so that, it appears, that the plaintiff and his counsel were *sure*, quite *sure*, that a new trial would not be granted, two days, at least, *before* that new trial was moved for!—Vivat Republica! Huzza for liberty and revolution!

‘AND what do I care for all this,’ say you. ‘I have got the post of Chief Justice, and shall hold it; and, in spite of all the exposures you can make, I shall still have the huzzars of the base herd of Philadelphians.’\*—That is true enough: I have not encountered the hopeless task of making any impression on you, or on the wretched beings, by whom you are surrounded; but I know *where* I shall produce an impression, and

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\* WHEN Shippen closed his Charge, there was a *clapping of hands*, amongst the people, who filled the galleries and the area of the court-house, and when the verdict was pronounced, the joy, of the malignant wretches broke out into *loud and repeated acclamations!* Nor was this joy confined to the herd of spectators; the shouting in the court-house was, the next day, recorded by the news-printers, who exulted in this proof of the *zeal and justice* of their *fellow citizens!*

and though my labours may be slow in their operation, they will be sure and lasting in their effects.

WITH this I dismiss you, 'till I have occasion to call you before me again.\*

Wm. Cobbett.

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THE Rush-Light has already made some astonishing exposures respecting the much boasted *liberty of the press*. It has many more to make. The mean arts and the abominable tyranny, employed, in Philadelphia, for the purpose of effecting the suppression of this work, surpass all that ever has been recorded of the detestable court of Star-Chamber. The Government of Pennsylvania appears to me to be approaching very fast towards absolute despotism. If a writer like the author of the Pursuits of Literature, were in that State, he would be ruined, if not assassinated, in less than twelve months. The poor printers and booksellers are reduced to a degree of slavish dread hardly to be conceived; and, to hear the language of the inhabitants in general, one would really imagine, that the bloody laws of Valentinian (on which Mc'Kean lately pronounced an eulogium) were in full force.

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\* THERE ARE various other matters respecting the courts in Pennsylvania, which shall be related in future Numbers of this work.

## PORCUPINE'S REVENGE.

*A Dialogue between Rush and Porcupine.*

*Rusb.*---Master Peter, you see, with my twelve sov'reign men,  
I have tipp'd you a squeeze for the strokes of your pen.  
These twelve sov'reign men, now I no longer need  
them,  
How shall I reward?

*Peter.*-----Why, *bleed* them, Rush, *bleed*  
*them!*

*Rusb.*---But, to the judge on the bench, so just and humane  
(The worthy successor and friend of Mack Kean);  
To my lawyers who bellow'd so loudly 'gainst you,  
To Hopkinson, Ingersol, Levi the Jew,  
The half-quaker Lewis (who once was a carter),  
And your faithful counsel, the mob-courting Harper;  
To my volunteer witnesses, grateful young Mease,  
To the poor Doctor Coxe, and poor granny Dewees  
(Who gen'rously came, with no duty to urge them),  
What return shall I make?

*Peter.*-----Why *purge* them, Rush, *purge* them!

*Enter Grave-Digger.*

*Gra. Dig.*---By my soul, Master Peter I think it too hard,  
That with such folks as these I must fill my  
church-yard.

*Peter*---Church-yard! honest fellow, my meaning's not such;  
For, where a man's buried it matters not much;  
And the great Doctor Mithell (of bleeding renown)  
Says, "let all *human carrion* be dragg'd out of town."

## A TRAGEDY SCENE.

*Enter SANGRADO, with the Rush-Light in his hand. He remains for about half an hour in stupid, sullen silence ; and then, starting from his reverie, pours forth, in slow and melancholy accents, the following soliloquy.*

Unthinking Doctor ! wherefore did thy rage  
 Urge thee with printer's prowess to engage !  
 O, why from puffing to the law retire ;  
 Why for thyself construct the fun'ral fire ?  
 What tho' an Ingersol before thee stood,  
 With dangling brush, to paint thee fair and good ;  
 A weeping Hopkinson, dear tender creature,  
 Sobbing, to wail the injuries of nature ;  
 What tho' kind-hearted jurors press'd thee round,  
 And philanthropic judges too were found ;  
 What tho' the gentle, just and gen'rous crowd  
 The verdict sanction'd with applauses loud ;  
 What tho' five thousand dollars were the prize,  
 Which, in idea, gratifi'd thy eyes ?  
 Say ! could such lenitives relieve thy shame,  
 Or re-unite thee to thy shadow, fame ?  
 Could they kill Peter---whose vindictive art  
 So well directs his venom to thy heart ;  
 Could they prevent exposure, and disgrace,  
 Or change the tincture of an Ethiop's face ?  
 Oh, no ! they bade these hellish fires arise,  
 And bound the to the stake !---(he dies.)

## A PORTRAIT OF A GOVERNOR,

*Drawn by one of his Slaves.*

BEFORE I exhibit this picture, I shall trouble the reader with a few explanatory remarks.—M'c KEAN, from under whose government I thought it prudent to retire in December last, had no sooner seized fast hold of the reins of power, than he began to lash, with a merciless hand, every man, who had dared to oppose his election, and who happened to be placed within his immediate reach. The civil offices, in Pennsylvania, such, for instance as that of Register, Clerk of Court, Prothonotor, &c. &c. are very numerous, and are all held during the pleasure of the governor, who appoints and displaces without controul or advice. The greatest part of these offices were filled by men, who had rendered themselves more or less conspicuous during the late revolution; and who, being once on horse-back, found riding much pleasanter than walking, through this vale of tears, and had, therefore, no inclination to dismount. They had all been appointed by Mifflin, who, though not destitute of malice, was a mere sot, capable of being soothed by the most stupid attempts at adulation. Most of these civil officers had served in a military capacity under him, and he felt that partiality towards them, which old comrades generally feel towards each other. When, therefore, a successor to their patron was to be chosen, they saw themselves in jeopardy. Two candidates offered, *Ross* and *M'c Kean*. In the latter they remembered, indeed, an old revolutionist; but they also remembered, that he was

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not a Mifflin. Keen, vigilant, persevering, tyrannical and vindictive as they knew M'c Kean to be, they were afraid to give him their support, lest they should have him for a master, and afraid to oppose him, lest they should be displaced. Being, however, at last, fully persuaded that Ross would succeed, they openly gave him their support. They were egregiously deceived: M'c Kean was elected by a vast majority, and, though his great age was one of the objections they affected to have against him, he soon made them feel that he was not deficient in point of energy.

THE first step he took was to annul all the commissions, during pleasure, granted by his predecessor. He had previously obtained exact information respecting the electioneering conduct of every one of the civil officers, whom he had the power to displace, and according to this he made out his list of proscription. He swept the poor fellows off by dozens, with as little ceremony as a foul-feeding glutton brushes the flies from the meat, which he is himself going to devour.

MANY of these ousted patriots; all of them, indeed, who could write (and some of them who could not), began a most lamentable out-cry against him. The news-papers were, and still are, inundated with their doleful addresses to the compassion of the people. Being, as they imagined, snugly quartered, on the public for life, they had entirely forgotten the favourite maxim of republicanism;—a *rotation in office!*

AMONGST all these pitiful complainants, not  
one



one has come before the publick with a worse grace than the writer of the following letter. He married one of Mifflin's daughters, and, with her, he married two offices, those of Clerk of the Mayor's and Orphan's courts, of the City and County of Philadelphia; but, Mc'Kean, not willing, I suppose, to tolerate polygamy, in his dominions, has divorced him from two thirds of his spouses.

TO GOVERNOR M'KEAN.

*Philadelphia, March 17th, 1800.*

AT length my case is decided; and I have received from your excellency my dismissal from office, in direct and palpable violation of your promise made (*not to me, for I have no favours to ask of you*) but to the late Governor Mifflin, which, although he is no more, can be ascertained by proof you dare not contradict. It is indeed a matter of no surprise, that the little regard you may have left for your character and veracity in transactions of this kind, has yielded, after a short struggle, to the burning impulse of party rage and personal vengeance;—Yet, if there were not many and irresistible evidences of your total disregard for every manly and just sentiment when it comes in collision with your paltry and vindictive passions, I should suppose you have not, without some difficulty, made up your mind to my removal, and that now and then a consciousness of perfidy would stagger your resolution and make you sensible of shame.—Let me repeat that I pretend to no claims upon your personal or political regard—I made no requests and received no promises;—*I had a right to none*, and I place this among the honourable circumstances of my dismissal:—But to the late Governor you did make such promises; they are known to many, and your Secretary, before the death of Mr. Mifflin, explicitly declared --not surely from his own authority --that *I would be continued in my appointments*. As a further proof that my removal was not at first intended, I received no circular letter, as those gentlemen did who were originally proscribed--Whether the mean and guilty terror, looking to another election, and trembling before a supposed dangerous competitor, which induced you to make a promise so repugnant to your inclination, or the contemptible perfidy with which you have broken that promise,

promise, be the most debasing, is a question you may discuss at your leisure; but when death had removed the danger which was the basis of your engagement, I was satisfied you would not suffer yourself to be shackled with the obligation. --- Mine is not the only instance in which you have pursued this disgraceful course of trimming duplicity. I am acquainted with other cases in which the same sort of low degrading policy and insincerity have been used by you, which in due time will be exposed to the public eye.

· WHEN I looked through my native state, and beheld the victims that were falling on every side; when I saw you scouring over the land like an avenging fury; when I discovered that long, laborious and faithful services in that revolutionary war about which you prate so much; that unexceptionable official conduct, and the most amiable private character; that no course of prudence and moderation at the late election; that nothing, in fact, but an active membership in your party, could save.---When you declared to a gentleman, "you are an unexceptionable character and an excellent officer, *but you voted against me*;"---When old age burthened with large and expensive families, was treated with scorn and consigned with insult to misery and want, nay when the very tears that glistened in the eyes of the distressed seemed but to brighten your savage triumph, what had I to expect?---An open and avowed opponent to your election, who had requested no friend to solicit, no foe to forbear---well knowing, that solicitation while it pampers the base pride of a groveling and vindictive mind, never disposes it to justice or moderation---When such men as ARNDT, GIBBONS, LINTON, READ, BOWERS, BARNITZ and LIONS, whose "white flakes challenge pity," and who have wasted their youth in the service of their country, are struck with your iron rod of power, in what could I *personally* hope for an exemption? Do you tell me that *Barnitz* and *Lions* have been re-appointed? but you will not say they were not marked as devoted victims, and were not accordingly complimented with your civil circulars, in which, with a ludicrous and canting hypocrisy, you affect to be sorry at the arrangements, *made by yourself*, which render their removal and destruction necessary--you did not pursue the blow it is true; but why? Did conscience recall the deed and a sense of justice restrain you? No---or you could never have intended their ruin--But the people of their respective counties became outrageous at your unexampled barbarity, crushing the crippled soldier and the aged patriot; your populari-  
ty

ty was threatened, and your coward heart shrunk from the foul mischief your soul delighted in—Insufferably insolent and overbearing in the ebullitions of your temper, you sink mean, dejected and degraded at the prospect of just retribution. Such was your character as Chief justice on the bench, and it adheres to the Governor. As to the exercise of your power on me, there is nothing remarkable in it as it relates merely to myself; and is worthy of remark only as it exposes the rottenness of your faith.—There are many grounds on which I might with certainty have looked for this proceeding from you—The rage of an old family quarrel (in which I had no part) may have in a measure subsided; but the embers have been burning on your heart, and wanted but opportunity to blow them into a destroying flame. Any man acquainted with your temper and dispositions, will not hesitate to believe; that you can scarcely receive a more welcome gratification than to inflict an injury on the son of FRANCIS HOPKINSON. Whether this was the prevailing impulse in your conduct, or whether some mercenary dependant claims the promised price of his prostituted services (for you will recollect you speak of your “*arrangements*” on the very day after you came into office) I will not more minutely enquire; As the motives are equally unworthy, your claim to either or both of them will not be doubted. But another reason remains—*I opposed you at the late election*—Yes, thank God! and in a most open, decisive and undisguised manner. My efforts, such as they were, were exerted against you to their extent, and in favour of a man infinitely above you in the qualifications of his heart and understanding and in the respectability of his character and conduct; And I had a full and unimpeachable right to do so; and while I did it with truth and propriety, you had no right to complain. As to the manner of my opposition, I defy the industry of your Excellency which has been so fortunate in collecting affidavits and certificates, true and untrue, from all quarters of the state, of the deeds, words and thoughts of your enemies!—I defy all those wretched minions who, crawling at your feet while they despise you in their souls, bloat your pride with disgusting flattery, until your poor, weak brain reels, enflame your passions with paltry anecdotes, and corrupt your heart with falsehood and hypocrisy—to produce a single paragraph of my writing, a single word of my utterance, that is not the utmost, true in its *matter*, and justifiable in its *manner*. I do not mean to stand accountable for every thing that your *affidavit-men* may lay to my charge: God forbid I should be tried by their veracity, but what I have

have written, said or done, I will acknowledge and defend. My opposition was honest, conscientious and constitutional, and I would not recall the smallest portion for all you can give or all you can take away.

I HAVE been informed that once in the fury of a savage temper or in the heat of inebriety (for the most regular men are sometimes thrown off their balance) you boastingly declared of an officer you were about to displace for the unpardonable sin of voting against you "*that you would teach his wife and children how to starve!*" Such probably are your charitable intentions towards me. But in these I trust you will be disappointed. Although the offices I have holden have necessarily abstracted me in a great degree from the regular pursuits of my profession, which I shall exert myself to regain, yet I cannot doubt, that perseverance and industry will make the loss you have inflicted but temporary, and disappoint the murderous malignity that dictated your conduct: When such dull animals as *Thomas M'Kean*, without the smallest pretension to genius, manners or general information, become Governors, nobody should despair of preferment.

WHILE you are exercising, with merciless rage, the odious power of a tyrant, while you are gratifying passions the most diabolical, and resentments the most mean, you can scarcely be so lost in the sublime contemplation of your own importance as to hope that the victims you prostrate will retort no reproaches to your teeth, or bury in silence the injuries you inflict. Do you suppose that every blow you strike breaks the spirit of the man, extinguishing even the desire of retaliation? Or do you feel yourself so firmly exalted on your tottering stool of authority as to despise the just reward of your deeds? Your elevation commands neither respect nor fear from me, and the use you are making of it is sinking you even with your friends. I have never approached you with humility, and I do not now adress you to complain. That immoveable hatred and contempt with which a free mind scorns a tyrant, in all his shapes and in all his acts, are the only feelings that inspire me in your presence. In all this display of the strength of office, I know you are a poor, self-convicted, wretched being. You lie down covered with curses, and the hours of a single day do not pass round without whipping you with the stings of scorpions, making you feel what sort of *thing* you are. Thus the very indulgence of your wishes becomes the bane of your happiness.

ONE consideration only has made me hesitate in thus exposing your shameful insincerity to the world, and giving expression to my feelings. I mean the good understanding and friendly intercourse that, putting political differences aside, has subsisted between the branches of our respective families, which promised to bury the feuds of former days, and restore that harmony which should ever be found among the descendants of common ancestors. But I address you on a personal question between you and me, in which your children are in no shape implicated; and I trust they can scarcely be so unreasonable as to expect I am to be wounded without feeling, or to feel without resenting.

YOU may perhaps discover harshness of language in this letter, but to have accommodated myself to the favourite stile of your Excellency, I should have indulged much more deeply in invective and abuse---A man who ventures to brand nearly one half, and surely the most respectable part, of the people of Pennsylvania with such names as Traitors, Tories, \*Refugees, &c. thus charging them with positive and high crimes, has little reason to look for much studied politeness of expression from those he has so grossly and indecently insulted. Your claims on this score from me will appear still more unfounded when you reflect on the evening in which, in the presence of one of my friends, you amused yourself with calling me scoundrel, puppy, rascal, with similar epithets of genteel disapprobation!

I UNDERSTAND J. Beckly is not intended as the permanent proprietor of my offices; but that he is to hold them for a year, when they will be delivered over to a person who will then be qualified to receive.---This is a sort of juggling by which your Excellency may reward a great many friends with a few offices. How much the chance of this *Contingent Remainder-man* is worth, time will decide; but if *Æsop's* frog or any other poor creature, ever bursted with pride, your Excellency will certainly make an explosion before the year runs out.....For the present I leave you, but with this assurance, that you and I do not part here.

JOS. HOPKINSON.

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\* If M<sup>c</sup>. K. did call the "*most respectable*" part of the people *Tories*, he was above half right.—P. P.

Now, reader, remember, that this Hopkinson is the very man who accused *me* of abusing the *great men* of Pennsylvania, and who besought the malicious jury to make me "*a blighted picture of infamy and ruin,*" for calling Rush a quack!—How just, how singularly fit, is the punishment which my enemies are inflicting on each other! Mc'Kean was my great persecutor, he was at the bottom of all the mischief, and he is now attacked and exposed, by one of the very tools that were employed to effect his nefarious purposes; and the wretched Hopkinson, who exulted in the hope of seeing me "*a blighted picture of infamy and ruin,*" has *himself* been made to exhibit that picture, and by the hand of that same tyrant, to whom, in persecuting me, he was paying his court.—Mc'Kean has published an answer to Hopkinson, and has produced a letter, in which the latter does actually *solicit a continuance in office.*—Base wretches!

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### JOHN MORGAN,

No. 3, South Front Street, Philadelphia.

**O**FFERS for Sale, an extensive and elegant Assortment of *Gentlemen's and Ladies' Pocket Books*, made after the newest fashions, equal in point of taste and durability, and much inferior in price, to any that are, or can be, imported.—His terms are: 60 days credit for one hundred dollars worth; 90 days for 200 dollars worth; 170 days for any purchase above 300 dollars; and for *cash* above 100 dollars, he allows 5 per cent discount. These terms, he presumes, will render his goods a desirable object with many; and he promises punctual attention to all orders given *before the First of June.*

He has also for Sale, an excellent assortment of Elastic Spring *Trusses for Ruptures.*\*

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\* If my friend Morgan has any Elastic Spring Trusses for the *mind*, as well as for the body, I beseech him to make a present of one of them to Doctor Rush. If he has a couple to spare, it may not be amiss to give one to Joseph Hopkinson, *Esq.*

TO THE  
HUMANE AND BOUNTIFUL.

A few days ago, William Cobbett received a letter from the REV. MR. GLASSE, Rector of Hanwell, Middlesex (Old England), of which letter the following is an extract.

“ INCLOSED is the Statement of a case, which has very deeply interested the feelings of Britons. May I beg you to publish the advertisement in your Gazette, and to receive any subscriptions which may be paid, remitting them to your correspondent in London?”

THE following is the truly affecting statement mentioned by Mr. Glasse.

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“ *The authenticity of the following Narrative, in all its Particulars, may be absolutely relied on by those who may be disposed to honour it with their compassionate Attention.*”

“ A GENTLEMAN of character, whose literary productions are not altogether unknown to the public, has for some time laboured under the pressure of very severe and complicated distress. His income, which has scarcely ever exceeded ninety pounds *per annum*, has been altogether unequal to the support of a very numerous family of children; ten of whom, *the survivors of twenty-one, born in wedlock*, are (with the exception of the eldest daughter) destitute of all means of support, save only the sum already mentioned, and the produce of some works of ingenuity, undertaken for the benefit of their parents, in which several of them, from their tender age, are as yet unqualified to join. The eldest son has been a cripple from his infancy.”

“ THE father has for some time been afflicted with the disorder known among medical persons by the name of Angina Pectoris; which is too generally known to terminate fatally, after a period of severe and protracted sufferings. In the month of April last, he was compelled to quit his little home, and had to sustain a heavy expence, and many grievous difficulties, before he could procure a situation for his family. At length he found a small cottage, where, within the last few weeks, six of his children have been attacked by a malignant fever: while their unhappy mother was totally incapacitated from administering to their relief, in consequence of a dreadful accident, which unfortunately happened a few days before the children were taken ill, and which totally deprived her of the use of her limbs.”

“ THE

“ THE object of this address is not merely to provide  
“ immediate assistance for this distressed family, but to  
“ obtain a small fund, for the purpose of apprenticing some  
“ of the children, extricating the father of the family from  
“ his pecuniary embarrassments, and making (if possible)  
“ a little provision for his wife, in case of her surviving  
“ him, as the whole of his scanty income terminates with  
“ his life.”

“ THE most satisfactory references may be obtained at  
“ the Banking-houses of Messrs. *Down, Thornton, and Co.*  
“ Messrs. *Dorset, Wilkinson, and Co.*; and Messrs. *Forster,*  
“ *Lubbock, Bosanquet, and Co.*; where subscription-books  
“ are opened for the relief of this deserving and unhappy  
“ family; as also at the house of Mr. *Partridge, Tavistock-*  
“ *street, Covent-Garden*; Messrs. *Rivingtons, St. Paul’s*  
“ *Church-Yard*; *Charles Johnson, Esq. General Post-Of-*  
“ *fice*; *John Bacon, Esq. First Fruits Office*; *John Nichols,*  
“ *Esq. Red Lion-Passage, Fleet-street*; and the Rev.  
“ *George Henry Glasse, Rector of Hanwell, Middlesex.*”

“ It is proper to mention, that this address to the feel-  
“ ings of the nation, in behalf of suffering worth, was made  
“ without the privity of the parties themselves.”

“ OCTOBER 12,  
1799.”

“ JOHN BACON.  
“ GEORGE HENRY GLASSE.  
“ CHARLES JOHNSON.  
“ JOHN NICHOLS.”

“ P. S. The names of those persons whose munificence may be dis-  
“ played on this occasion, will be inserted in the Supplement to the Gen-  
“ tleman’s Magazine for 1800.”

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ANY Comment, on my part, would be superfluous; I shall, there-  
fore, only add such information as the due discharge of my duty seems  
to require.

It will be perceived, that Mr. Glasse relies on me to receive and  
transmit any subscriptions which the advertisement may produce; in  
conformity with which request, I have opened a subscription book at  
my house in New-York, and Mr. Fenno has been so good as to open  
another at his house in Philadelphia. Receipts will be given for all the  
sums we may be so fortunate as to collect, whether delivered to us by  
hand or through the means of the post office, and these sums, with the  
Donors’ names, will be, as fast as received, transmitted by me to John  
Nichols, Esqr. Red Lion-Passage, Fleet-Street, London.

SOME persons may, possibly, be inclined to contribute, and yet have  
objections to doing it by my hands; but, I trust, that this will be no  
bar to their benevolent inclination; for, though, I must confess, I should  
esteem it a great honour to be the steward of their bounty, they may,  
with very little inconvenience, convey their contributions themselves.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

New-York, 30th March, 1800.



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THE  
*Rush-Light.*

30th APRIL, 1800.

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BEING THE FIFTH NUMBER OF VOLUME I.

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LETTERS FROM P. PORCUPINE  
TO  
DR. PRIESTLEY, AND THOMAS COOPER.

=====  
“ How are the mighty fallen!—Tell it not in  
“ Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon!”

SAM. II. c. i. v. 19. 20.

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*Introduction.*

THE friend of Priestley and of Cooper (if they have one left on earth) may now imitate the pathetic solicitation of David, when he heard of the disgraceful catastrophe of Saul and of Jonathan; for, if there be any thing, which can yet add a sting to the torment of their minds, it assuredly must be the dread of that derision, which a knowledge of their present situation is calculated to produce amongst those, whom they have so insolently reproached for peaceably

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and loyally submitting to the rule of their Sovereign, and whom they have so earnestly besought to exchange the *tyranny* of a king for the *freedom* of a republick. But, on this subject, solicitation, however pathetic, would, and ought to be, in vain; for, though no one can help feeling some compassion for the humbled demagogues, every British subject, who has it in his power, must regard it as his duty to make use of the example, now furnished by themselves, for the purpose of eradicating the principles, which they have, but too successfully, endeavoured to implant.—Such, I solemnly declare, is the motive, from which I now take up the pen.

THE character, the principles, the former conduct, of Doctor Priestley are too well known to require an elucidation. And, as to Mr. Cooper, most people know, that he is also an Englishman by birth, that he has for a long time been a most disaffected subject, that he accompanied the traitor *Watt* in an embassy to the rebel assembly of France, that he afterwards, in 1793, came to America, returned home in 1794, and published a book, exhorting his countrymen to emigrate to this land of liberty,\* whither, finally, he returned himself in 1795, and settled at  
Northumberland,

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THIS book is entitled, “*Some Information Respecting America,*” and a most mischievous publication it has proved. Hundreds of poor deluded Englishmen curse the hour that the author was born: but, more of this hereafter.

Northumberland, in the State of Pennsylvania, where he had previously provided a retreat for himself and his friend Priestley.

BEING now arrived in that republican paradise, which they had so long sought, it was reasonable to suppose, that they would pass the remainder of their days in peace; but, it was, on the other hand, not unreasonable to suppose, that they would expect promotion under a government, which they had made use of such unwarrantable means to exalt above all others.

WHILE General Washington was President, they seem to have been willing to forego their pretensions; but the election of Mr. Adams was an event well calculated to awaken their dormant patriotism, and to encourage them to seek for an opportunity of exerting those eminent talents, of which they had, as it were, robbed their native country purely for the good of America.

MR. Adams had, it seems, lived upon terms of great intimacy with Doctor Priestley, in England, where, if the Doctor's vanity does not lead him beyond the truth, they frequently assembled with Dr. Price and other worthies of the same stamp, all of whom most humanely, benevolently, and generously concurred in a wish to better the lot of ill-fated Britons by an extension of their political liberty and religious toleration. When, therefore, the Birmingham Philosopher arrived

arrived in America, his acquaintance with Mr. Adams was renewed, and was cultivated, on both sides, with at least, much apparent sincerity.

THAT Mr. Adams had little objection to the religious tenets of the Doctor is not to be doubted ; for, of a course of sermons, which the latter preached, at Philadelphia, during the winter of 1796, Mr. Adams was a constant hearer, nay further, these sermons, which were soon afterwards published, were, by *permission*, dedicated to him, and it was ever stated in the dedication, that *they were published at his request*.

IT is not, therefore, surprising, that the Doctor looked upon the exaltation of this Gentleman to the President's chair, as the dawn of his own importance ; and, it must be confessed, that a man far less sanguine than Dr. Priestley, might have built his hopes on a slighter foundation. Accordingly, the very next session of Congress, after Mr. Adams's election, his friend the Doctor appeared as a candidate for the post of Chaplain to the House of Representatives. Great exertions were made in his favour, but all without effect ; he had only *twenty six* votes out of a hundred. John Knox was yet too strong for Socinus.

IN bestowing the post of Congressional Chaplain, the President, it was known, had little or  
no

no influence ; therefore, the defeat in the House of Representatives did not at all discourage the hopes of the Doctor, or of his brother emigrant, Mr. Adams was installed in March, 1797, and though offices in his gift are not very plenty, Cooper found one that suited him in a very little time. An agent was to be appointed, on the part of the United States, to attend to their interests before the Board of Commissioners, assembled at Philadelphia, in virtue of the sixth article of the treaty of amity and commerce between Great Britain and America. The business of this agent was to examine the validity of the claims preferred against the United States, and to make objections to them if necessary ; in fact the office was neither more nor less than that of counsel for the defendant ; of course, it required a lawyer to fill it, and it is by no means wonderful, that Cooper, who was bred to that profession, should take a fancy to the salary. Priestley undertook to give him the following recommendation to the President.

“ August 12, 1797.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ IT was far from being my intention,  
 “ or my wish, to trouble you with the request of  
 “ any favours, tho’ it is *now* in your power to grant  
 “ them ; and it is not at all probable that I shall ever  
 “ take a second liberty of the kind. But circum-  
 “ stances have arisen which, I think, call upon me  
 “ to do it once, tho’ not for myself but a friend.  
 “ The

“ The office of Agent for American claims, was of-  
 “ fered, I understand to Mr. Hall of Sunbury, and  
 “ he has declined it. If this be the case, and no  
 “ other person be yet fixed upon, I should be very  
 “ happy if I could serve Mr. Cooper (a man, I  
 “ doubt not, of at least equal ability, and possessed  
 “ of every other qualification for the office) by re-  
 “ commending him. It is true that both he and  
 “ myself fall, in the language of our calumniators,  
 “ under the description of *Democrats* who are stu-  
 “ diously represented as enemies to what is called  
 “ *government* both in England and here. What I  
 “ have done to deserve that character you well  
 “ know, and Mr. Cooper has done very little  
 “ more. In fact, we have both been persecuted  
 “ for being friends to American liberty, and our  
 “ preference of the government of this country  
 “ has brought us both hither. However, were  
 “ the accusation true, I think the appointment  
 “ of a man of unquestionable ability and fidelity  
 “ to his trust, for which I would make myself  
 “ answerable, would be such a mark of superio-  
 “ rity to popular prejudice as I should expect  
 “ from you. I therefore think it no unfavourable  
 “ *circumstance in the recommendation.* That you  
 “ will act according to your best judgement I  
 “ have no doubt, with respect to this and other  
 “ affairs of infinitely more moment, thro’ which I  
 “ am persuaded you will bring the country with  
 “ reputation to yourself, tho’, in circumstances of  
 “ such uncommon difficulty, perhaps with less  
 “ ease and satisfaction than I could wish. With  
 my

“ my earnest wishes for the honour and tranquillity  
 “ of your Presidency,

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ yours sincerely,

“ JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.”

“ SIR,

“ ON my expressing an inclination  
 “ for the office which Mr. Hall has declined, Dr.  
 “ Priestley was so good as to offer his services with  
 “ you on my behalf.

“ PROBABLY the office will be filled 'ere this  
 “ letter can reach you: probably there may be ob-  
 “ jections to nominating a person not a native of  
 “ the country: probably *the objection mentioned*  
 “ *by Dr. Priestley may reasonably be deemed of*  
 “ *weight in my instance.* Be all this as it may, I  
 “ see no impropriety in the present application,  
 “ to be appointed Agent of American claims, for  
 “ it is still possible I may suppose more weight  
 “ in the objections than they will be found to  
 “ deserve. If it should so happen that I am no-  
 “ minated to that office I shall endeavour to me-  
 “ rit the character the Doctor has given of me,  
 “ and your esteem. I am, &c.

“ THOMAS COOPER.”

It must be confessed, that there is nothing crawling in either of these letters: they breathe as independent a spirit as letters, on such a subject, possibly can. Nor do I, indeed, see any thing in them that an *American* has a right to find fault with. The Doctor's assertion, that he and Cooper were persecuted in England for their attachment

attachment to America, shall be noticed hereafter.

WHAT answer the President gave to the letters, or, whether he ever gave any at all, is not publicly known; but, in a very little while after the date of Cooper's application, one Reid of Philadelphia, was appointed to the office, which appointment, as is natural to suppose, gave the Northumberland patriots great offence. In point of talents Cooper was certainly very far superior to Reid; but then, it was justly considered, by those who talked on the subject, that the revolutionary pretensions of the former were, at least, doubtful, while, it was notorious that the latter was the son of a member of the *Old Congress*, who had, besides, filled the office of Governor of Pennsylvania, in those glorious times when Roberts and Carlisle were sent to the gallows!

INDEPENDENT, however, of all personal considerations, the President had sufficient reason for refusing the request of Cooper. It is true, that this latter was, according to the then existing law, become what is called an American Citizen; but, it was easy to perceive, that his being employed as Agent would not have contributed to the harmony, which it was, at that time, hoped would prevail in the Board of Commissioners. The British Commissioners; gentlemen of loyalty and honour, could not have listened with much respect to the companion of  
Watt



Watt and the lying preacher of emigration ; and, had they, in consideration of the office, forgotten the man and his hostility to the Sovereign, whose commission they bore, there was every reason to suppose, that he would avail himself of the numerous opportunities that would offer, to keep their memories continually refreshed.

BUT, strong as these reasons for refusal, and others that might be mentioned, were, the patriots of Northumberland seem not to have perceived their force. Another appointment, too, which took place soon after the rejection of Cooper, probably aggravated their disaffection ; I allude to the appointment of Rush to the Treasurership of the Mint, a post which would have suited Doctor Priestley to a nicety, and of which he certainly was as worthy as his more smooth-tongued competitor. I do not know that the Doctor actually applied for this place ; but it was talked of as a thing that he would like ; and certain it is, that, from the time of this appointment to the present day, the Doctor and his friend Cooper have, on all convenient occasions, shown themselves the bitter enemies of Mr. Adams, his administration, and his measures.

THE season however, for *open* opposition to the Federal government, was, for a long time, inauspicious. The summer of 1799 warmed the dormant faction into life. In Pennsylvania, M'Kean, the avowed friend of France, of Jeffer-

son, and of democracy, was a candidate for the important office of Governor. To him, therefore, who had, in his State, ten times as many offices in his gift as the President, the emigrated philosophers looked, with confidence, for that profit and importance, which they had in vain solicited from the Federal Government; and, that they might not be destitute of a ground for their pretensions, they zealously, ably, and efficaciously supported his cause in the canvass that preceded his election.

DURING this canvass, this six months of disputation, of intrigues, of reciprocal calumny, of anxiety, of hope, of fear, and of hatred, Cooper, who is possessed of talents, intrepidity and perseverance, that would do honour to a better cause, voluntarily became the editor of a news-paper published in his neighbourhood, during which editorship he published, in his own name, a number of essays, of which I shall speak more fully in my letter to himself. One of these essays, which was, indeed, a well written, a most artful, and an extensively mischievous performance, drew from the Federal party,—not a reply, but, a *publication of the anecdote of his application to the President*, of which the following is a copy, taken from a Reading paper, in which it was first published, on the 26th October, 1799.

“ *Thomas Cooper’s* address to the readers of  
 “ the Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, of  
 “ which

“ which he was Editor, having been re-publish-  
 “ ed in this State, with an introduction approba-  
 “ tory of the piece, a correspondent wishes to  
 “ know if it be the same *Thomas Cooper*, an En-  
 “ glishman, of whom the following anecdote is  
 “ related? If it is, every paper devoted to truth,  
 “ honour and decency, ought to give it a tho-  
 “ rough circulation.”

“ Not many months ago, it is said a *Mr.*  
 “ *Cooper*, an Englishman, applied to the Pre-  
 “ sident of the United States to be appointed  
 “ agent for settling the respective claims of the  
 “ citizens and subjects of this country and Great  
 “ Britain.” In his letter he informs the Presi-  
 “ dent that although he (*Thomas Cooper*), had  
 “ been called a Democrat, yet his real political  
 “ sentiments were such as would be agreeable  
 “ to the President and government of the United  
 “ States, or expressions to that effect. This letter  
 “ was accompanied with another from *Dr. Joseph*  
 “ *Priestley*, who did not fail to assure the Pre-  
 “ sident, of the pliability of his friend *Cooper’s*  
 “ democratic principles. The President it is said  
 “ rejected *Cooper’s* application with disdain, and  
 “ *Priestley’s* with still stronger marks of surprise,  
 “ saying, it is said, as he threw the letter on the  
 “ table, does he think that I would appoint any  
 “ Englishman to that important office in prefer-  
 “ ence to an American!—What was the conse-  
 “ quence?—When *Thomas Cooper* found his ap-  
 “ plication for a lucrative office under our Pre-  
 “ sident rejected he writes in revenge the address  
 “ which

“ which has appeared in print, and Dr. *Priestley*  
 “ exerted his influence in dispersing this very  
 “ address, which he must know was the offspring  
 “ of disappointment and revenge !!!”

THE reader, who compares this anecdote with the Letters of Dr. Priestley and Cooper, and who, like me, is willing to give the devil his due, will allow, that a narrative more destitute of candour and of truth never disgraced even an American news-paper. It was attributed to the officers of the Federal Government, who, it was said, *must* have, at least communicated the fact; but, besides the want of grammar in the composition, and the gross falsehoods of the statement, it is by no means credible, that the government would be guilty of such an unpardonable act of meanness as to combat its adversaries by divulging the applications, dictated, probably, by their poverty. Had this, however, been the case, I see no reason (provided the truth had been adhered to) on which either Priestley or Cooper could, consistently with their principles, have grounded a complaint; for, they have both repeatedly declared (indeed, it is one of their favourite maxims), that government should have *no secrets*.

COOPER published, in a hand-bill, on the 2d. of November, 1799, a regular reply to the anecdote, in which reply he vindicated his conduct in making the application for an office under the President, and endeavoured to do away all appearance

pearance of inconsistency, by stating, that his application was made before the President had sanctioned any of the measures, which were in the opinion of the patriots, so abhorrent to true republicanism, so destructive to the interests and so dangerous to the liberties of the people.—

“ Nor do I,” said he “ see any impropriety in making this request, to Mr. Adams: at that time he had just entered into office, he was hardly in the infancy of political mistake; even those who doubted his capacity, thought well of his intentions. Nor were we yet saddled with the expence of a permanent navy, or threatened, under his auspices, with the existence of a standing army. Our credit was not yet reduced so low as to borrow money at eight per cent. in time of peace, while the unnecessary violence of official expressions might have justly provoked a war. Mr. Adams had not yet projected his embassies to Prussia, Russia, and the Sublime Porte, nor had he yet interfered, as President of the United States, to influence the decisions of a court of Justice—a sketch of authority which the Monarch of Great Britain would have shrunk from—an interference without precedent, against law, and against mercy. This melancholy case of Jonathan Robbins, a native citizen of America, forcibly impressed by the British, and delivered up, with the advice of Mr. Adams, to the mock trial of a British Court Martial, had not yet astonished the republican citizens of this free country; a case too little known, but of

“ which

“ which the people ought to be fully apprized,  
 “ before the election, and they shall be.”

As to the truth or the falsehood, the innocence or the criminalness, of this passage, it is not now my business to enter into an inquiry. It furnished the ground for a criminal prosecution; the author was indicted at the last Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Pennsylvania; his plea was not guilty, he set up a justification, pleaded his own cause, was found guilty, and was sentenced to pay a fine of 400 dollars and to suffer six months imprisonment on the felon side of the Philadelphia jail, where he now is.—May such be the fate of every Republican Briton!

“ A MISFORTUNE,” says the proverb, “ seldom comes alone.” So it happened now; for the day after Cooper was convicted, news was received in Philadelphia, that Dr. Priestley and his family were all *poisoned*, by the hands of his own S——! I give the article as I find it in Brown’s Philadelphia Gazette of the 29th of April.

*From the Reading Advertiser of Saturday last.*

“ Extract of a letter from a respectable gentleman  
 “ in Northumberland, dated April 17th, 1800, to  
 “ his friend in this place.

“ ON Monday last Dr. Priestley, Mrs. Priest-  
 “ ley,

“ ley (wife of Mr. Joseph Priestley jun.) her two  
 “ children, a hired girl, and a little bound girl,  
 “ all of them were poisoned; they are however so  
 “ far recovered, with their own exertions, (by  
 “ drinking warm water) and the assistance of the  
 “ medical gentlemen of this place, that they are  
 “ supposed to have overcome the most imminent  
 “ danger. The hired girl made a pudding for  
 “ dinner, took the flour as usual out of the meal  
 “ chest, but discovered some shining particles of  
 “ some substance intermixed with the flour—she  
 “ acquainted Mrs. Priestley thereof, who thought  
 “ little or nothing of it—the girl however and a  
 “ hired man, went to the chest, and took off the  
 “ top which appeared to have most, and threw  
 “ it away; otherwise they all must have inevita-  
 “ bly fallen an instantaneous sacrifice. The  
 “ poison intermixed with the flour is said to be  
 “ arsenic, and was so strong, that after the Doc-  
 “ tor and family had discharged a quantity from  
 “ their stomach, by vomiting, the poultry eating  
 “ thereof almost instantly died.

“ THIS horrid deed of the person that  
 “ is supposed to have committed it, did not  
 “ surprize me in the least when related to  
 “ me, as the opinion I entertain of the Doc-  
 “ tor accords with the principles of true De-  
 “ mocracy—and his S—’s (one of the family) are  
 “ the same—this ordinary drunken wretch is  
 “ supposed to be the perpetrator—Mrs. Priestley  
 “ has said it was him; the hired girl, for several  
 “ days before seen him about the meal chests,  
 “ opening

“ opening them, asking her who eats Indian meal, and who eats wheat meal, &c.? The Doctor and his S—, are so full of French principles that nothing appears strange in this affair.”

THIS account has been republished in most of the newspapers, and it does, hitherto, remain uncontradicted by any thing that I have seen or heard of.

To avoid a digression in the preceding narrative, I have reserved it for this place to observe, that while Cooper was labouring in that fertile vineyard, the newspapers, Dr. Priestley was publishing, in the form of pamphlets, a series of letters, addressed to the people of Northumberland, the evident object of which letters was to pay his court to M<sup>c</sup>Kean, by satyrizing his old and intimate friend, the President, and the government of which he was at the head. To defend Mr. Adams and the Federal Government against an attack, which, I will venture to say, has done them more harm, in Pennsylvania, than any one they ever had to encounter, I have not the capacity. I have seen the time, indeed, when I should have had the inclination, and should have made the attempt; but I now unreluctantly resign the task to the *Boston Slaves* and the “*True Americans*,” to those who formerly received the “*persecuted Priestley*” with peals of applause; to those who menaced me with “*banishment*,” and who exulted in the hope



hope of making me “ a blighted picture of infamy and ruin ;” to the calumniators of my king, the enemies of my country, and the oppressors of myself.\* All I have to say to Dr. Priestley and to Cooper is between ourselves, as *British subjects*, a title which I have valued above all others ever since emigration taught me how to discriminate, and which, I believe, is not now so degrading in *their* sight as it formerly was.

TO DR. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY:

SIR,

THE season of disgrace is also the season of reflection; it is therefore probable, that the neglect; the rebuffs, and the insults, which you have latterly received from those by whom you were formerly caressed; may have brought to your recollection the warning I gave you upon your arrival in America:—“ A man of all countries is  
“ a man of no country: and let all those citizens  
“ of the world remember, that he who has been  
“ a bad

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\* THE oppressive, the unprecedented, the abominable decision against me at Philadelphia has been ascribed to *party spirit*; but, justice to those whom I so long combated, demands from me the acknowledgment, that the *Democrats* were not only perfectly innocent of the deed, but that they expressed, and do still express, their horror at it. The insidious and malignant prosecutor is an officer under the Federal Government, the Judge, the Jury, the lawyers of Rush, and, am sorry to add, my own lawyers, were all *Federalists*, to a man!

G G

“ a bad subject in his own, though from some latent motive he may be well received in another, will never be either *trusted* or *respected*.”\* When I wrote this sentence, I was fully persuaded I should see it verified by you ; but little did I expect, that, in the short space of five years, I should see the salutary truth acknowledged, and proclaimed to the world, by yourself.

To your *Ten Letters*, addressed to the inhabitants of Northumberland in Pennsylvania, you have prefixed the motto, “ *nunquamne reponam?*” Why not? Who hindered you from replying? What kept you silent so long? And what, at last, urged you to reply? Very little notice had been taken of you in print for some months preceding the date of your letters. In short, Doctor, it is evident, as well from the circumstances under which you published, as from the publication itself, that you wrote, not to clear up your own character, but to gain the good-will and the patronage of M<sup>r</sup> Kean, which as it conveniently happened, you were enabled to do by indulging your spleen against the President and the Federal government.

You were, however, placed in a puzzling dilemma. If M<sup>r</sup> Kean were elected without any assistance from you, you foresaw that you could have no pretensions to his favour; and, as you could

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\* See Observations on the Emigration of Dr. Joseph Priestley, &c. which were first published in 1794.

could render him no essential service without attacking the Federal Government and its measures, you were compelled to make that attack, which was, besides, necessary to remove an opinion, that was very prevalent, of your being still in the confidence and in the interest of the President. On the other hand; you must have perceived, that a bold and unqualified censure, not only on Mr. Adams and the measures of his government, but on the *constitution* itself, would come very awkwardly from the pen of Dr Priestley, who had been one of the warmest admirers and loftiest eulogists of that constitution. You must have been aware, that you were about to undo all the mischief you had done; that your meditated attack, while it served the cause of democracy in America, must inevitably serve the cause of monarchy in Europe; that some one would not fail to compare your present sentiments and declarations, with those which you had promulgated on former occasions, and to avail himself of your experience and acknowledgements for the purpose of destroying your dangerous principles. This much you might have expected, and, I dare say you did expect, from *me*; if you did, I shall now endeavour to fulfil your expectation, assuring you, that it has not been for want of inclination, that the duty has remained so long unperformed.

FAR be it from me to join in the brutal exultations of the *Boston Slaves* and "*True Americans*." These base wretches, who, but a little while

while ago, cloyed you with fulsome panegyrics, and abused me for my animadversions on your conduct, are now rejoicing at your disappointments, mocking at your anguish, and almost expressing their regret that the rats'-bane you found in your porridge did not prove mortal. It is worthy of remark, and must, I think, have struck you very forcibly, that the *Philadelphia Gazette*, which was the first to censure my Observations on your emigration, was also the first to express satisfaction at your being poisoned! A memorable instance of the versatility, the baseness, the savageness of republicanism!

To imitate the cowardly triumph, the dunghill cock crowing, of these servile wretches I scorn. That you have been *disappointed* in your political expectations, that you have met with refusal, neglect and contempt, instead of caresses and rewards, for your unwarrantable endeavours to exalt America above your own country, I most heartily rejoice; but I do not rejoice at your private *calamities*; and if I ever expressed a wish to see you suffer bodily or domestic torment, it was expressed without due reflection, and is now retracted with the utmost sincerity.

It is not my intention, Sir, to give a regular answer to your TEN LETTERS: I only mean to point out to you, and to our countrymen, the disagreement between your present and your former sentiments respecting the American Government, leaving the defence of that government

to those who admire it now as much as you formerly did.

By way of introduction to the censures you are about to pass, you take occasion to insist on the harmlessness of a man's publishing his sentiments, be they what they may, and to suppose a case, which, to say the truth, is not inapplicable. "If," say you, "I were to advise you to change the whole form of your government from a republic to a monarchy, and if, notwithstanding all I could urge in favour of such a government, you should prefer what you call *liberty*, in which persons of all ranks, qualified or unqualified, give the greatest part of their time to a subject which they will never understand, and still chuse to clamour, and almost fight, about endless elections of magistrates, no harm would be done. You might proceed just as you had done before. If, in order to prevent the mischief that often arises from *competition*, I should advise that, instead of making a king of any native American, who would not soon acquire the proper disposition and habits of one, you should return to your former allegiance to the king of Great Britain, a king ready formed to your hands, who would, no doubt, forgive all that was past, and promise you the best treatment for the future, and thus become a wing of that great empire which now commands the world, and share in her honour, and you should not quite like the proposal, I should still hope to be excused for making it, from

" my

“ my loyalty to my natural sovereign, and my  
 “ zeal for the honour of my native country, even  
 “ if I did not consult your interest in it: and as  
 “ you would not be hurt, you could not be much  
 “ offended. *Mr. Cobbett*, a greater admirer of  
 “ England than I am, would no doubt, go far-  
 “ ther than I could in its commendation. He  
 “ might say that, could you but see the king of  
 “ Great Britain seated in his robes on the throne  
 “ in the house of Lords, with all the Lords and  
 “ Bishops in their robes; could you see him ser-  
 “ ved on the knee, and persons kissing his hand,  
 “ you would be ashamed of your President, and  
 “ every thing belonging to him. He might say  
 “ that an American would be struck dumb at  
 “ the sight of an English judge seated in his scar-  
 “ let robe on the bench, with all the lawyers in  
 “ their gowns, and flowing wigs. He would say  
 “ that the best man among you was hardly fit to  
 “ be made a justice of the peace in England. And  
 “ then what is your *navy*? It is not so much as  
 “ the *frog* compared to the *ox* in the fable; and  
 “ might bid you take care lest the *ox* should set  
 “ his foot upon it. But should you consider all  
 “ this as mere prejudice in favour of our native  
 “ country, you would only smile at our repre-  
 “ sentations, and not be angry,”

WHEN you wrote this, Doctor, you were  
 humming the Northumbrians, or you were cer-  
 tainly humming yourself; for, I believe, you  
 have since felt, that the good citizens of Ameri-  
 ca do not listen to such royalist propositions with  
 an

an extraordinary degree of patience. But, why did you put the severest of these sarcasms into *my* mouth? God knows, I have anti-republican sins enough to answer for, without being loaded with yours. *I* never said, that, if the people of this country could see their old king, they would be ashamed of their President and every thing belonging to him; *I* never said, that the best man in America was hardly fit to be made a justice of the peace in England; nor did I ever crack my jokes on the infant navy, in any way whatever, much less did I ever dream of comparing it to the vain and stupid frog that burst herself by endeavouring to puff up her diminutive and despicable carcase to the size of the majestic Ox.

As to *judges*, I grant you, I have been rather free: I have, at times, drawn comparisons not altogether advantageous to certain people, whom I believe, you have the honour, at this time, to call your friends. But, I never wasted my time in talking about the *robes* of a judge; people, like the Pennsylvanians, who have seen a chief-justice canvassing for himself from the very bench; people who have heard of a judge's thieving in a shop, or in the lobby of Congress, who have heard of another harbouring a known thief in his house, who have heard of another committing murder with impunity, and who have, so very lately, seen exalted to the bench of the supreme court, a man, who, but a few years ago, took the benefit of an amnesty, and actually turned  
States'

States' evidence against his accomplices!!!—  
 People who have been accustomed to these things;  
 Doctor, would not be struck dumb at the sight  
 of an English judge, though seated in his scarlet  
 robes.

IN order to reconcile the seeming contradic-  
 tion in your sentiments, delivered at different  
 epochs, you tell your neighbours, that you  
 found things not what you expected to find  
 them.—“ When,” say you, “ I left England,  
 “ I was induced to come hither chiefly on account  
 “ of my high admiration of the constitution of  
 “ your government. It was at that time the  
 “ only one that had been drawn up with delibe-  
 “ ration by persons appointed for that express  
 “ purpose, and solemnly accepted by the nation.  
 “ It was wholly founded on the *rights of man*, and  
 “ the *sovereignty of the people*. There were no  
 “ hereditary honours, or powers of any kind, and  
 “ no form of religion established by law. The  
 “ power of making peace or war, and also that  
 “ of regulatin g commerce with foreign nations,  
 “ as well as among yourselves, was wisely pla-  
 “ ced in the Congress. Your country was then  
 “ open to all new comers without any restric-  
 “ tion; and that great and necessary guard of li-  
 “ berty the *freedom of speech and of the press*,  
 “ was uncontroled. To my great surprise and  
 “ mortification, however, I now find that several  
 “ of these articles, essential to a truly free go-  
 “ vernment, have been, in my opinion, on one  
 “ pretence or other, infringed. Or, if the pre-  
 “ sent



“ sent state of things be really agreeable to the  
 “ Constitution, it was not drawn up for the use  
 “ of plain men, but of very acute lawyers only.  
 “ Certainly the comment does not naturally flow  
 “ from the text; or there was in the letter of the  
 “ constitution a latent ambiguity, which defeats  
 “ the professed object of it. Thus because your  
 “ Constitution gives to the President, and two  
 “ thirds of the Senate, the power of making trea-  
 “ ties with foreign powers, and treaties may re-  
 “ late to any subject in which different states  
 “ may be concerned, they may make treaties of  
 “ alliance, offensive and defensive, and also trea-  
 “ ties of commerce; and by this means all inter-  
 “ ference of the proper representatives of the peo-  
 “ ple either in the business of commerce, or of  
 “ peace and war, in which they are most concer-  
 “ ned, and in which they therefore ought in rea-  
 “ son to have the most controul, is effectually  
 “ precluded. The treaty, shackling their com-  
 “ merce, or involving them in a war, is actually  
 “ made independently of them, and all their ob-  
 “ jections to it have no effect.—Since treaties  
 “ become parts of the law, by which the courts  
 “ of justice are bound, I do not see but that it is  
 “ in the power of the President and two thirds  
 “ of the senate, that is I believe of twenty one  
 “ men, to bind the country “ *in all cases what-  
 “ soever.*”—It is, moreover, contended by the  
 “ friends as they are called, of government, that  
 “ when, in consequence of any treaty, money is  
 “ to be raised to carry it into effect, the repre-  
 “ sentatives of the nation, who give the money,

“ must absolutely raise the sum required, or as  
 “ the phrase is, make the appropriations; having  
 “ no other choice than that of raising it in what  
 “ they may think the best manner.—This is a  
 “ power which even the parliament of Great  
 “ Britain *has not yet been brought to surrender.*”

THUS, then, it appears that you were deceived, and that experience has convinced you, that the House of Commons in England is, in the most essential point, more independent of the king and his nobles, than the Representatives of America are of the President and the senate? But, Sir *when* did you discover the deception? The infringement, (if it was one) of which you speak, respecting the treaty-making power, took place in '795, just after your arrival in the country; and, if it did really give you such “ great mortification,” how happened it, that you did not notice it before, particularly as the press was then, according to your own confession, uncontrouled? The *alien* and *sedition* laws, are, indeed, of a more recent date; but they were passed early in 1798. What, then, you made you delay your animadversions 'till the Summer of 1799? It is unfortunate, that after remaining so long a silent spectator of a violated constitution, you should have taken up the pen to remonstrate, and that you should have ventured to do it, too, after the Congress had made laws, “ to restrain the freedom of speech and of the press, *more severe than those in England!*” It is tremely unfortunate, that you should have been roused from your slumber, *after* you had been  
 slighted

slighted by the Federal Government; and that you should have braved every danger from the laws, just at the time that *a new patron* stood in need of your assistance in this way; just at the time when some overt act of hostility against Mr. Adams and his government was necessary to convince M'Kean and his party, that you retained no attachment to your former friend and companion.

SHOCKED, as you were, at these violations of the constitution, it was quite natural for you to propose the establishment of a court of your own invention to prevent further violations; nor was it very astonishing, that, while your hand was in, you should propose certain amendments to the constitution itself. As, however, these will never have any existence but in your brain, I shall pass them over, observing only, that your wanting already to reform "*the government of your choice,*" is a pretty good justification for those, who rejected your projects for reforming that of Great Britain.

ON the *standing army*, which forms another subject of complaint with you, I shall speak to your friend and fellow-labourer, Cooper, who has, I presume, by this time, learnt the precise value of the word *standing*, both in its monarchical and republican acceptation.

THE violations of the constitution, of which you speak, and which I have noticed above; the treaty-making power, the power to regulate commerce

merce, the granting appropriations, the indirect prohibition of emigration, and the restraint on the liberty of speech and of the press; all the encroachments (if there have been any), on these points, have, indeed, taken place since your arrival here; but, this certainly is not the case with respect to the œconomy, and the morals of the country, against which, however, you have now entered your protest, without considering, perhaps, in your zeal to serve M'Kean, that it is extremely unjust to charge Mr Adams, or the Federal Government, with hardly any of the evils of which you complain. After reciting them, in your own words, I shall take the liberty to refresh your memory.

“ WHAT seems to be more particularly im-  
 “ litic in this country, as ill suiting the state of  
 “ it, is the duty on the importation of books,  
 “ which are so much wanted, and which even  
 “ great encouragement could not produce here.  
 “ Is it at all probable that such works as the  
 “ Greek and Latin Classics, those of the christi-  
 “ an Fathers, the Poliglott Bible, the Philosophi-  
 “ cal Transactions, or the Memoirs of the Aca-  
 “ demy of Sciences, &c. &c. will, in the time  
 “ of our great grand children be printed in the  
 “ United States? and yet there is a heavy duty  
 “ on their importation; and for every printer or  
 “ maker of paper for printing, there are, no doubt  
 “ several thousand purchasers of books, all of  
 “ whom are taxed for their advantage. In these  
 “ circumstances, it were surely better to have  
 “ more

“ more cultivators of the ground, and fewer  
 “ printers.

“ A FOREIGNER travelling in the interior part  
 “ of this country, and finding the *want of roads,*  
 “ *bridges and inns,* wonders that things of such  
 “ manifest utility should not have had more at-  
 “ tention paid to them, when he sees that *great*  
 “ *sums are raised and expended on objects, the use*  
 “ *of which is at best very doubtful.* And men of  
 “ letters coming to reside here, find their hands  
 “ tied up. Books of literature are not to be had,  
 “ and philosophical instruments can neither be  
 “ made nor purchased. Every thing of the kind  
 “ must be had from Europe, and *pay a duty on*  
 “ *importation.*

“ BUT all this may be short sighted specula-  
 “ tion; and it may be, nay I doubt not it is, bet-  
 “ ter for the world at large, that its progress should  
 “ not be so rapid; that a long state of infancy,  
 “ *childhood and folly,* should precede that of man-  
 “ hood and true wisdom; and that vices, which  
 “ will spring up in all countries, are better check-  
 “ ed by the calamities of war than by reason and  
 “ Philosophy.

“ A STRANGER is apt to wonder that political  
 “ animosity should have got to so great a height  
 “ in this country, when all were so lately united  
 “ in their contest with a common enemy; and  
 “ that their enmity, which cannot be of long  
 “ standing, should be *as inveterate as in the old-*  
 “ *est*

“ *est countries*, where parties have subsisted time  
 “ immemorial. But it may be the design of Pro-  
 “ vidence, by this means, *to divide this widely*  
 “ *extended country into smaller States*, which shall  
 “ be at war with each other, that by their com-  
 “ mon sufferings their common vices may be cor-  
 “ rected, and thus lay a foundation for the solid  
 “ acquisition of wisdom.

“ A STRANGER naturally expects to find a  
 “ greater simplicity of manners, and more vir-  
 “ tue, in this new country, as it is called, than  
 “ in the old ones. But a nearer acquaintance  
 “ with it, will convince him, that considering  
 “ how easily subsistence is procured here, and  
 “ consequently how few incitements there are to  
 “ the vices of the lower classes especially, there  
 “ is *less virtue* as well as *less knowledge*, than in  
 “ *most of the countries of Europe*. In many parts  
 “ of the United States there is also *less religion*,  
 “ at least of a rational and useful kind. And  
 “ where there is no sense of religion, no fear of  
 “ God, or respect to a future state, there will  
 “ be no good morals that can be depended up-  
 “ on. Laws may restrain the excesses of vice,  
 “ but they cannot impart the principles of vir-  
 “ tue.”

“ INFIDELITY has made great progress in  
 “ France, through all the continent of Europe,  
 “ and also in England; but I much question whe-  
 “ ther it be not *as great in America*; and the want  
 “ of information in the people at large, makes  
 “ thousands

“ thousands of them the dupes of such shallow  
 “ writings as those of Mr. Paine, and the French  
 “ unbelievers, several of which are translated and  
 “ published here, and either through want of  
 “ knowledge, or of zeal, *little or nothing is done*  
 “ *by the friends of Revelation, to stop the baneful*  
 “ *torrent.*”

Now, are all these things so, Doctor Priestley? Is it true that this *written* constitution, “ ratified  
 “ by the solemn consent of the citizens, and  
 “ founded on the *Rights of Man* and the *Sove-*  
 “ *reignty of the People,*” is it really true, that  
 this constitution has been violated in divers in-  
 stances, and with impunity? Is it true, that the  
 American Representatives have abandoned, to  
 the Executive, essential privileges, which the  
 British House of Commons do yet preserve? Is  
 it true that the Congress have made laws, to restrain  
 the press, more severe than those in England?  
 Is it true, that there is, in this country, a burden-  
 some and dangerous standing army? Is it true,  
 that heavy taxes are raised and squandered on use-  
 less objects? Is it true, that the country is desti-  
 tute of roads, bridges and other useful accommo-  
 dations? Is it true, that child-hood and folly are  
 the characteristicks of the nation? Is it true, that  
 the people have less knowledge, less virtue, less  
 religion, than those of most of the countries of  
 Europe; and, is it indeed, true, that infidelity is  
 making rapid and unrepelled strides, while  
 political animosity threatens not only to destroy  
 the government, but to tear the country to  
 pieces?

pieces?—If all this be true, it is an act of charity to turn your attention, for a moment; from the gloomy picture, to that delightful one, which was drawn by your own hand about six years ago.

“ I THINK” (said you in your answers to the addresses delivered to you upon your landing in America), “ I think myself greatly honoured, flying as I do from ill-treatment in my native country, on account of my attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, to be received with the congratulations of a society of men, associated to cultivate the love of liberty, and the enjoyment of a *happy republican government*.”—This was a part of your answer to the Tammany Society. To the “ republican Britons” (that is, the *rebel* Britons) you were more unreserved in your commendations of republicanism.—“ I think myself peculiarly happy in finding in this country so many persons of sentiments similar to my own, some of whom have probably left Great Britain, or Ireland, on the same account, and to be so cheerfully welcomed by them on my arrival. You have already had experience of the difference between the governments of the two countries, and, I doubt not, have seen sufficient reason to give the decided preference that you do to that of this. *There* all liberty of speech and of the press, as far as politicks are concerned, is at an end; *Here*, on all subjects whatever, every man enjoys the invaluable liberty of speaking and writing whatever he pleases.

“ THE



“ THE wisdom and happiness of Republican  
 “ governments, and the evils resulting from he-  
 “ reditary monarchical ones, cannot appear in a  
 “ stronger light to you than they do to me. We  
 “ need only look to the present state of Europe,  
 “ and of America, to be fully satisfied in this  
 “ respect.—I congratulate you, gentlemen; as  
 “ you do me, on our arrival in a country in which  
 “ men who wish well to their fellow-citizens, and  
 “ use their best endeavours to render them the  
 “ most important services, men who are an ho-  
 “ nour to human nature, and to any country, are  
 “ in no danger of being treated like the worst  
 “ of *felons*, as is now the case in Great Bri-  
 “ tain.”

BUT, say you, when I bestowed these com-  
 mendations on the American Government, I was  
 but just landed in the country, and, of course,  
 could not know any thing of the evils and abuses,  
 of which I now justly complain. That is very  
 true; but, though your want of information on  
 the subject might have been a very sufficient apo-  
 logy for *silence*, it was none for your advancing  
 falshoods. The *Sedition law* was not, indeed,  
 passed, when you boasted of the American liber-  
 ty of the press; but, you ought to have known,  
 that, at the very time that you thought proper to  
 draw a comparison, in this respect, so disadvan-  
 tageous to your native country, the laws, regu-  
 lating the liberty of the press, were precisely the  
 same in both countries, while every circumstance  
 attending

attending the *administration* of those laws, was evidently in favour of the British writer.

Not, however, to leave you any excuse on the score of want of information, I beg leave to remind you of a letter, which you wrote long after you were settled in America, and in which you say to your friend in England: “ Every account  
 “ I have from England, makes me think myself  
 “ happy in this *peaceful retirement*, where I en-  
 “ joy almost every thing I can wish for in this life.  
 “ —The advantages we enjoy in this country are,  
 “ indeed, very great. *Here we have no poor;*  
 “ we *never* see a beggar, nor is there a *family*  
 “ in want. We have no church establishment,  
 “ and *hardly any taxes*. This particular state  
 “ [Pennsylvania] pays all its officers from a *treas-*  
 “ *ure in the public funds*. There are *very few*  
 “ *crimes committed*, and we travel without the  
 “ least apprehension of danger. *The press is per-*  
 “ *fectly free*.—I do not think there ever was any  
 “ country in such a state of rapid improvement  
 “ as this is at present.”

THIS letter, Sir, you wrote in October 1796, after you had been two years and a quarter in your “ peaceful retirement.” How different are its sentiments from those of your Ten Letters to the inhabitants of Northumberland! And yet it is hard to conceive, that the difference has been produced merely by your different degrees of information. The liberty of the press has, indeed (according to *your* assertions), been abridged since

since the date of your letter of 1796, but, the other abuses and evils existed in 1796 as well as in 1799. The President and Senate had made treaties and regulated commerce in 1795; and you never knew the time when the United States had not the same sort of army that they have now. That the sedition, and other new laws, may have increased the "*political animosities*" of the people is very possible, but it is incredible that these laws *alone* should have produced dissensions that menace the existence of the government and the Union. These political animosities must have existed in 1796, and, indeed, every one knows, they did exist in 1796, and with little less violence than in 1799.

HOWEVER, we will suppose all these political evils to have been created by the *sedition law*, and, consequently, to have made their appearance since the date of your letter; yet, I presume, the same cannot possibly be supposed with respect to the other evils you now complain of. The sedition law certainly did not add to the *heavy tax on books*; it did not destroy the *highways, bridges and houses of entertainment*; it did not produce that *childhood and folly*, which, you say, mark the character of the American nation; nor did it, all at once, deprive the people of *knowledge, virtue, and religion*, or prevent the friends of revelation from exerting themselves to stop the *baneful torrent of infidelity*. No, Sir, you will find no one credulous enough to believe, that all these evils have arisen, and have grown  
to

to such a fearful height, in the short space of *three years*. And, if they were in existence, when you wrote your letter of 1796, how could you, with such facts before your eyes, write such a letter?

THAT letter I first saw in a news-paper, published at Leeds, in England; and I have been well informed, that it was republished in all the manufacturing towns in that country, for the nefarious purpose of inveigling away the inhabitants, to a country where it was impossible for them to earn their bread, and where they must inevitably end their days in poverty and misery.

I HAVE more than once promised to enter into an examination of this emigration epistle, this land-jobbing gull-trap; and the present opportunity is, perhaps, as good a one as ever may offer.

“*Here,*” say you, “we have *no poor*; we *never* see a beggar, nor is there a *family* in *want*.”—This was in October 1796. Now, Sir, in that very year, which was not a year of Yellow Fever, or of any extraordinary distress, but, on the contrary, a year of uncommon public prosperity, there were received into the alms-house of Philadelphia alone, *five thousand and nine paupers*, and there were maintained in the said house, upon an average, constantly through the whole year, *four hundred and seventeen persons*. The sum expended, in support of these people, was £14040.

5s.

5s. 1d. \* The poor taxes assessed for the house amounted to £. 12618. 12s. 2d. the *bastard* fines to about £.700, the balance being made up by the product of the labour of the poor and other trifling resources. The number of *families* and of individuals, who were, during that year, relieved by the overseers of the poor, and the sums expended in this way, I cannot precisely ascertain; but I am sure I am not far from being correct, when I state, that the whole sum expended on account of the poor, in that year, for the city of Philadelphia, was *sixty thousand dollars*, upwards of *thirteen thousand pounds sterling*, a sum, I believe, far exceeding the poor-expences of any town in Great Britain of equal population.—And yet, “we have *no poor!*”—After this statement, I leave your barefaced assertions, that “we *never* see a beggar, nor is there *a family in want,*” to rest on their own credibility.

FAR be it from me to triumph in the detection of a falshood like this. It would have given me great pleasure to be able to confirm your account; but it would certainly be wrong in me, either actively or tacitly, to assist in the delusion, more especially when I consider, that such captivating falshoods have enticed thousands to this country, and have contributed not a little to swell the lists of misery.

“ We

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\* Currency of Pennsylvania, which is about one third less in value than sterling, or British money.

“ WE have *hardly any taxes*. This particu-  
 “ lar State [Pennsylvania] pays all its officers  
 “ from *a treasure in the public funds*.” The Offi-  
 cers are, I suppose, like every other expence,  
 paid out of the treasury, and the *funds*, which the  
 State possesses, were, recollect, *raised on the*  
*State*. There will not always be new lands to  
 sell, nor will there ever be another Penn-family  
 to disinherit. Notwithstanding these *unique* re-  
 sources, however, and without saying a word  
 about the Federal and State direct taxes that have  
 been laid on *since* 1796, you were singularly  
 favoured, Doctor, if you had “ *hardly any taxes*”  
 in that year. That there were poor taxes I have  
 already shown, and, by my own receipt-book,  
 I can prove there were others. I paid *all* the  
 taxes for the house in which I lived, and those  
 taxes for the year 1796, amounted to near 70  
 dollars, 21 dollars of which were for poor-rates;  
 so that, my share of other State taxes for that  
 year, amounted to 49 dollars, or about 11 pounds  
 sterling; and if other people paid nothing, if the  
 nice little republican government was supported  
 out of the product of certain publick funds, I  
 was very ill used. Nor must you tell me, that  
 if I had lived in the country, I should have been  
 exempt from these expences, I know a little of  
 this matter, Sir, and I know, that a farmer in  
 Pennsylvania, pays, in proportion to what can be  
 cleared from his farm, more than is paid by a  
 farmer in Great Britain; to which I will add,  
 without the fear of being contradicted by any  
 one acquainted with the fact, that the farmers  
 and

and peasants in England, are, in common, better fed, clad and lodged, than people of the same description in Pennsylvania.

“ THERE are [in Pennsylvania] *very few crimes committed*, and we travel without the least apprehension of danger.”—If you insist upon confining the meaning of the word *crimes* to robberies committed on the high-way, I grant you, there are not a great many; but there are more, in proportion to the population, than there were in France, before the blessed rebellion, of which you are an admirer. But, Sir, there are other crimes besides those of high-way robbery, and if the large packet of bills of indictment, which the attorney-general of Pennsylvania carries into every court of Oyer and Terminer, were not of itself sufficient, the light manner in which theft is spoken of might serve to convince you, that crimes are not scarce in that State. It is true, indeed, you do not see many *executions*; but, notwithstanding the *amelioration* (as it is called) of the penal code almost amounts to a direct encouragement of felony, you will see in the present neighbourhood of your friend Cooper, some hundreds of “unfortunate and guilty fellow citizens,” as Judge Chase called Fries, who, if they had been in England, would have swung on the gallows tree. In fact, I assert, and am ready to meet the enquiry at any time, that, in proportion to the population of the State of Pennsylvania, there are more capital crimes committed, than there are in the British Dominions, not excepting

cepting London and its vicinity ; and, as to moral offences, there is more delinquency in office, there are more publick defaulters, more acts of swindling, more fraudulent debtors, more bastards begotten, more divorces, more eloped wives, more run-away apprentices, in the single State of Pennsylvania, which contains not *two hundred thousand souls*, than there are in the whole Kingdom of Great Britain, which contains about *eleven millions*.

YOU are fond of controversy, Doctor: take me up, then, upon this subject. I am ready to meet you at any time, and will confine myself to facts of 1796, the year in which you wrote your letter. The honour of your favourite State is at stake, and loudly calls on your patriotism for a defence.

“ THE press is *perfectly free*.”—This was written in the year 1796, and, therefore, you will not, of course, allow your recent complaints to be cited in contradiction of your assertion. But Sir, these complaints are confined to the abridgement, which this valuable branch of liberty has suffered from the *sedition law*; whence it follows, that, tho’ the proofs which I am about to produce in contradiction, are drawn from proceedings of a date somewhat later than that of your letter, they ought to be admitted; because, they were not grounded upon the sedition law, nor upon any other law, passed since the writing of your letter,



ter, and might, consequently, have taken place in 1796 as well as since that year.

IN the year 1797, the Spanish Minister complained against me, to the Federal government, for publishing a libel against him and his king; the former I had called a *fop*, *half-don* and *half-sansculotte*, and the latter a *poor degraded creature*, who had entered into an alliance with the murderers of the head of his family. Notoriously true as this was, the Federal Government ordered a criminal prosecution to be commenced against me in the Federal court; but, the Spaniard, who then courted, his present wife, the daughter of your patron Mc. KEAN, who was then Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, wished, for reasons too evident to mention, to bring me to trial before his intended father-in-law, who, besides owed me a mortal grudge. The Federal government could not, of course, do any thing by way of compliance with this request; it was, therefore, resolved by Mc. Kean, in conjunction with the then Governor and Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania, to commence *another prosecution in the State-court*. But for two separate governments to prosecute a man at one and the same time, and for the same indetical offence, was something, for which even the *Rights of Man* had not, as yet, furnished a precedent. As, however, the ingenious sons of liberty are seldom long at a loss for the means of carrying a favourite point, it was resolved, that a prosecution should be pushed on in both courts, and, to pre-

serve the chances, and avoid the total defeat that might arise from one grand-jury's being governed by a favourable decision of the other, the two Attornies General compared their bills of indictment, one taking care to leave out such parts of my publications as the other had inserted. Thus were two crimes made out of one pretended libel; I had to give bail twice, and encounter the trouble, vexation, and expence of two criminal prosecutions, for publishing articles which would not have encouraged the most haughty and insolent man in England to appeal to the law.—And yet, “the press is *perfetly free*”!

BUT, say you, both the bills were returned *ignoramus*.—Very true, Doctor: the *grand-juries* preserved me from the clutches of your patron and his associates, they preserved my wife and children from want, and myself from the disgrace of inhabiting the felon side of the philanthropic Philadelphia prison, where your friend Cooper now lies; but, Doctor, these grand-juries, these invaluable preservers of liberty, are not an institution of the *Rights of Man*; they are not, and were not at the time when you wrote your eulogium on the liberty of the American press, peculiar to this country. I owed my preservation at that dangerous crisis, not to any reform in the jurisprudence of America, not to any additional safe-guard which the revolution had placed round the liberty of the press, but to that valuable part of the jurisprudence of our ancestors, that precious gem of the British Constitution, which the people of these States have, as yet, had

had too much sense to destroy, and which still exists, in all its glory, in the country which gave us birth, and which you have had the ingratitude to defame.

I SHOULD now remind you of the malicious and vexatious prosecution of Rush, and of the unjust and oppressive proceedings therein, with none of which the *Sedition law* had any thing to do; but you want no information on this score, and I trust, that, before this time, the Rush-Light is in a fair way of exposing the dark transaction to the view of our heretofore deluded fellow-subjects. I shall, therefore, conclude my remarks on your "*perfect liberty of the press,*" by the developement of an act of tyranny, in your present Governor Mc. Kean, that might have been an object of envy with Fouquier Tinville, or even with your Robespierre himself.

WHAT I am going to relate, took place under the government of Pennsylvania, and in the year 1797; therefore, the Federal Government and its sedition law, against which *alone* you now complain for having abridged the liberty of the press, have nothing to do with the matter. It took place in the State where you lived; it took place under the same laws and the same Governor and Judges that were in power when you wrote your letter of 1796, and when you told the people of England, that "*here the press was perfectly free.*"

IN 1797, Mc. Kean, the Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania,

sylvania, formed the resolution of suppressing Porcupine's Gazette, a publication in which, on account of his violent attachment to the cause of France, he had been frequently assailed; but, not being able to fix on any thing that could be fairly called a libel, and having, in the case of Oswald, experienced some inconvenience from the untractableness of grand juries, he fell upon a scheme by which he hoped to effect his purpose without their assistance.

HE collected a bundle of my pamphlets and papers, and thereupon issued a warrant to bring me before him. This warrant (of which he refused me a copy) stated, that I had published certain false and malicious libels, against himself; against Mifflin, Dallas, Jefferson, Munroe, Gallatin, Old Franklin, the Duke of Bedford, Charles Fox, Sheridan, Lord Stanhope, Bonaparte, the Bishop of Bergamo, Pichegru, Robespierre, Talleyrand, Parker the mutineer], Napper Tandy, Arthur O Conner,—and the devil knows who besides.

WELL, what did he demand? Not bail for my appearance, as the law required, to answer for these offences at the next court of Oyer and Terminer; no, he had no idea of committing his ridiculous charges to a grand jury, which is always composed of men of some respectability; he, therefore, demanded surety, of myself and two others, in the sum of *four thousand dollars*, for my *keeping the peace and being of good behaviour!* Having taken these recognizances, he immediately set himself

himself to work to collect my *subsequent* publications, to pick out of them what he was pleased to term *breaches of the recognizances*, and, thereupon he issued a civil process for the recovery of the four thousand dollars, in the name, and for the behoof, of the "*free State of Pennsylvania*." This action has been (in the same way as Rush's was) put off from court to court ever since December, 1797, and, as the times are now changed, will, probably, be brought to trial next month.—Whether he will succeed in getting such a jury as Rush got, is, as yet, uncertain.

To those who understand the law, the atrocity of this procedure must be too evident to need exemplification; and, every man of common sense must perceive, that, in a State where the usual course of law can be thus eluded; where grand-juries (the principal check on a partial court) can be dispensed with at pleasure; where a man must give security, or go to jail, for publishing what his accusers never intend to bring before a jury; where like bail can be demanded of him every week, and where he can be kept *constantly*, and for years together, bound to the peace and good-behaviour, at the arbitrary will of a judge, without ever having broken the peace or behaved ill, and without ever being brought to trial; where all this can be done, every one who has two grains of sense must perceive, that there can be no liberty of the press, nor any other liberty whatever.—Yet, you exultingly exclaim, "*Here the press is perfectly free.*"

SUCH

SUCH *freedom*, Doctor, *perfect* as it is, does not satisfy John Bull. Honest John is sometimes mong-headed and fickle; he sometimes wrangles with his best friends, while he hugs the villains who are ready and willing to cut his throat; but John never loses sight of the main chance, and, though a noisy patriot may wheedle him out of a good deal, you would find it very difficult to coax him into contentment with your Pennsylvanian liberty of the press: John's liberty, like his money, must be *sterling*, or he hurls it in your teeth.

ACCORDING to the law, and the established practice, in England, surety for good behaviour cannot be required from any man, for a libel, *before conviction*; and in all other cases when it can be required, it must be required by a justice of the peace, or by the court, upon conviction. No Judge of the king's bench has any such authority. A *sovereign people* may, indeed, say, that *their* judges ought to have greater power than those appointed by a king, and, if they like it, I am sure I have no objection, so long as it does not affect me. But, this is not the matter between you and me: you have, in a most artful and insidious manner, endeavoured to persuade the people of England, that the liberty of the press, which you enjoy in Pennsylvania is greater than that which they enjoy, and I have undertaken to undeceive them.

FITZHERBERT, in his *Natura Brevium* (a book of established authority in the law courts, both here and in England), treating of the writ *de securitate*

*securitate pacis* (security for the peace), says:  
 “ This writ lies, when a man is in fear or doubt,  
 “ that another will beat or assault him; and lies  
 “ properly where one man does threaten another  
 “ to kill him, beat him, or assault him ”—Further,  
 “ the Justices of the King’s Bench will not grant  
 “ any writ for sureties of the peace, without mak-  
 “ ing oath, that he is in fear of *corporal damage*.”  
 With respect to the *good behaviour*, Lord Coke  
 says: “ *libellous words are not a breach of the be-*  
 “ *haviour*; for though such words are motives, and  
 “ mediate provocations for breach of the peace, yet  
 “ tend they not immediately to the breach of the  
 “ peace, like a challenge.”—The first of these au-  
 thors wrote in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the  
 second in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Lord  
 Coke, who is well known to have been no favourer  
 of libels, cites a case, in which a man, after being,  
 bound (for some offence) to be of good behaviour  
 till a time named, did, *in the interim*, use slan-  
 derous words against the person, whom he had be-  
 fore offended; yet was it determined, that this was  
*no breach of his recognizance*.

LORD Camden, in speaking of an attempt  
 somewhat resembling the procedure of M’Kean,  
 exclaims: “ What must one think of any court of  
 “ justice [not a single judge, off the bench] that  
 “ shall, upon the caption of a man as a libeller,  
 “ refuse to let him to bail, *before he has entered*  
 “ *likewise into recognizance for his behaviour?*  
 “ Nay, if the same person should afterwards be  
 “ guilty of any petty constructive misdemeanor,  
 “ or

“ or breach of the peace, *it might be pretended he*  
 “ *had forfeited his former heavy recognizance; so*  
 “ that, he would be punished, not in proportion  
 “ to his real transgression, but to one that was on-  
 “ ly supposed: and this in a country where law  
 “ presumes every man to be innocent until he be  
 “ found guilty! In plain words, it is a libel on the  
 “ constitution to hold such doctrine, and, in a  
 “ judge, a breach of his trust (which is *treason at*  
 “ *Common Law*) to support it. It would render  
 “ every English subject, by possibility, a miserable  
 “ fettered slave! —It follows, then, of course  
 that every Pennsylvanian is, by possibility, a mis-  
 erable fettered slave; for, the tyranny, which Lord  
 Camden trembled at in theory, Mc. Kean has re-  
 duced to practice.—And yet, Doctor, “ *here the*  
 “ *press is perfectly free!*” And yet, this is the  
 very man whom the people have just raised from  
 the bench to the chair of State, with loud huzzas  
 of “ *Mc. Kean and liberty!*” Yea, this, this is the  
 man, to promote whose election you took up your  
 battered pen, and from whom you have been mean  
 enough *to solicit a reward!*—“ *Tell it not in Gath;*  
 “ *publish it not in the streets of Askelon!*”

THERE remains but one other subject of your  
 letter of 1796 for me to notice, in doing which I  
 shall be very brief.

“ *Here we have no church establishment.*”—  
 This is perfectly correct. I could, indeed, show  
 that this is one of the greatest evils of the American  
 system; that it is a defect, which the government  
 feels



feels most severely, and which will, much more than any other cause, retard the national unity and happiness of the people. To say what I could wish to say, on this head, would demand room, which I have not to spare; but your observations of 1799, may, perhaps, induce you to fear, that your exultation of 1796 was rather premature. For, Sir, if the people of America, with those numerous advantages and those few temptations to vice, which you give them, are, as you say they are, *more ignorant, less industrious, less virtuous, less religious*, and, if there be *more infidelity* amongst them, *and less zeal to defend revelation*, where, I pray you, are we to look for all the good, which has arisen out of the absence of a church establishment? Doubt, Sir, that you have been deceived; forbear to rail against the Church, and hope, with me, that the day will never come, when a motley, mongrel crew of sectaries shall succeed in hurling her from her base, and, along with her, that ancient and glorious fabrick of which she has ever been, and still is the principal support. Nay, Sir, go one step further with me: *confess your errors*; acknowledge that you were deluded, and were instrumental in deluding others. Make all the atonement in your power: return home, and tell what you have seen. Never was there a man, who had a fairer opportunity of evincing true greatness of mind, of exchanging contempt for respect, misery for happiness. You have a country that ever stands with open arms to welcome her wandering sons: turn not from her maternal embrace to the selfish hug of democracy: at any rate, dis-

honour not the name of Englishman by becoming the eleemosynary eulogist of a puffed-up petty despot, whose person you must loath, whose actions you must reprobate, and whose character you must despise.

WITH this admonition I bid you farewell, assuring you, that, while I rejoice at your publick disappointments, there are very few who more sincerely regret your private calamities, and no one who more heartily despises your former panegyrists and present persecutors.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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☞ The Letter to Mr. Cooper will appear in the next Number of the Rush-Light.

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[END OF No. V.—30th APRIL, 1800.]

JUST PUBLISHED,  
*By William Cobbett,*  
THE UNSEX'D FEMALES,

A POEM.

*Addressed to the Author of the Pursuits of  
Literature,*  
BY THE REV. RICHARD POLEWHELE:  
*To which is added,*  
A SKETCH OF THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC  
CHARACTER OF  
PETER PINDAR.

---

JUST RECEIVED,  
AND FOR SALE BY WILLIAM COBBETT,  
*A Sketch of the Rise & Progress*  
OF THE  
YELLOW-FEVER,  
AND THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF HEALTH,  
*In Philadelphia, in the year 1799.*  
BY WILLIAM CURRIE.

---

*An Original American Work.*  
BY SUBSCRIPTION.

**Proposal**

To publish for the Author a periodical Work,  
ENTITLED,  
THE LAY PREACHER;

OR

*Essays, Moral, Economical, Political, & Literary.*

May

" May not I strive, amid the motley throng,  
 ALL PALE AND PENSIVE, as I muse along.  
 To frame a work, which leads to cheap renown  
 In my *lay habit*,—not the sacred gown?  
 —Once, in my morn of life, a wizard said  
 You ne'er shall rise by benefice, or trade:  
 But find remote from consequence or fame,  
 A LOCAL SOMETHING and a SHADOWY NAME;  
 Through crowds shall mark your solitary way,  
 Ardent though thoughtful, and though serious  
 gay,  
 Bow to no *populace* for golden views,  
 Your Portion, Memory, and best gift, your  
 muse."

*Pursuits of Literature.*

### CONDITIONS.

These essays will be comprised in two volumes royal octavo. The work will be printed on wire woven paper, and with a large, elegant and distinct type.

The price will be Four Dollars; one half of which must be paid at the time of subscription.

These volumes will contain many unpublished numbers in addition to those, which, at various periods have appeared in the *Farmer's Museum*, and the *Gazettes* of the United States.

A list of the Subscribers will be recorded in the front of the first volume, as a proper tribute of respect, on the part of the Publisher and Author to those, who patronize the effort of young men, solicitous to disseminate correct principles in *Morals and Literature*.

The Work will be put to the Press, as soon as the subscriptions will justify the expence of printing of the book with peculiar elegance and care.

Subscriptions will be received by *John Ward Fenno*, the Publisher; and by *Thomas Dobson*, *James Humphreys* and *Abury Dickins*. In New-York by *William Cobbett*. In Boston by *James White*. In Salem by *John Dabney*. In Providence by *John Carter*. In Hartford by *Hudson & Goodwin*. In Baltimore by *George Hull*. In Richmond by *Augustine Davis*. In Charleston, S. C. by *William B. Young*. In Trenton by *Gershom Craft*. In New Brunswick by *Jacob Tallman*. In Newark by *Jacob Halsey*; and In London by *Codell & Davies* in the Strand, and Messrs. *F. & C. Rivington*; and by *Bell and Bralsfute*, Edinburgh.

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THE  
*Rush-Light.*

30th AUGUST, 1800.

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BEING THE SIXTH NUMBER OF VOLUME I.

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AN ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

AT the end of that disastrous war which separated the most flourishing colonies, that had been sent forth by any nation, ancient or modern, from the mother country, every patriotic Englishman saw that event with regret. It was past. It could not be recalled. To make the best of an ill managed business; to turn seeming evil to our advantage; and to endeavour to regain the esteem and confidence of America, could be the only desire of every wise man, who wished well to the two countries.

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In

In the present political state of Great Britain, which is manufacturing and commercial, we cannot exist, but by a connection with foreign nations: we live by our foreign customers: take them away, and the whole face of our affairs would be totally changed. No doubt, if Great Britain were to live within herself, she would still be a powerful empire, and command respect among the nations of Europe; but the revolution that would take place on such an event would produce a temporary ruin to the present generation: therefore, every wellwisher to his country would be sorry to see so great a change, and must be desirous of supporting our commercial and manufacturing establishments; and, of course, to preserve so valuable a customer as America.

It is of little importance to Englishmen what laws the Americans are governed by, considered in the abstract; but it is of the utmost consequence, whether they will continue to be our customers. The population of that country is increasing with greater rapidity than any other Quarter of the Globe: though I believe their politicians are too sanguine in their expectations on that head; and, have founded their data on wrong principles: nevertheless, it must be confessed that population will proceed rapidly, even if their government should (as they have done) check the progress of nature: and, shall we despise a set of customers who are continually

tinually multiplying, or throw any difficulties in the way of our mutual friendship?

At the close of the war, every one believed that if we could secure the exclusive trade of America, that there was nothing lost by the contest; but the difficulty lay in securing that trade. France, our natural enemy; Germany to whom America is indebted for the most industrious part of her citizens; and the East-Indies, from which we are not able to exclude them, are manufacturing nations which were likely to share in the trade of that great continent. Nothing remained for Great Britain, but to endeavour to gain an influence in the councils of her late colonies, now become independent states. But when we consider the nature of the governments exercised over that country, nothing could be conceived more difficult. Thirteen independent governments, and several more, in embryo, could not be easily influenced by foreign councils. The general government, or what was then called "the continental Congress" had very little power to enforce its ordinances.

So that that government, had no more virtual power over the states, than what Great Britain expected to regain; viz. an influence over their councils; and, an attention in them, to its recommendations. It was therefore the interest, as it was the design of Great Britain, to endeavour to concentrate the powers of government

as

as much as possible in the congress, especially that part of it which relates to foreign nations: such as, the power of making treaties, and laying imposts. That object being gained, there would then be a point at which we might direct our artillery. At that time nothing was to be done but by the insinuation and address of our old friends the loyalists; whom, it was well known, consisted of nearly half the American people: for, we had on our side, not only those, who had, like truly loyal subjects, fought against independence, but all those, who, hating the anarchy of republicanism, wished for a government similar to England, a limited monarchy; all these, and they are the most respectable for wealth, learning and influence, were on our side and seconded our views in bringing the government to one focus: they, that they might obtain honours, rank and power, and we; (Great Britain,) that we might have a point on which to erect our influential engine, which, like that contemplated by Archimedes, should move the earth.

What seconded all our views, in a kind of miraculous manner, was that distraction which naturally follows all great revolutions in government. The sovereign people (as, I believe, every sovereign people will always be) were divided. One party contended about forms of government: and the other, assiduously sought after private interest, despising those who looked farther than personal aggrandizement. Each  
of



of these parties again. shot out into innumerable ramifications, of which it is needless for me at present to give the detail. The most prominent however among the *politicians* were the republicans and limited monarchists; and among the *selfish* there was a strange contrariety of efforts which at least deserve some notice, as it shews the disastrous effects of sudden changes in government. The sovereign people, tag rag and bob tail, men of information, and men of no information, finding themselves in possession of immense tracts of back country; of the free navigation of the ocean, from which they had been, in some measure, for their own good, restricted; in the possession of the privilege of manufacturing for themselves, from which also they had been wisely restrained, that they might be employed in more profitable occupations, without clashing with the interest of the mother country: finding themselves, I say, in possession of these new acquirements, every one of the *selfish* thought of nothing but realizing immense fortunes in a short time.

On one side was seen the speculators in land. Vain would it be for me to describe their exaggerated hopes. In the fanciful visions which their own imaginations created, they saw all the nobility of Europe driven from that quarter of the globe, by the "volcanic irruptions" of liberty and equality, which then began to make its appearance, pouring their riches into America, and purchasing their back land. The  
value

value of some of those lands, in particular situations, had absolutely increased fifty fold; and, according to yankee reasoning, such would be the proportional increase for ages. American lands were offered for sale in every capital city in Europe; and many Europeans become the dupes of American swindlers. We have only to rejoice that those dupes were generally the outcasts of European countries, who were entrapped in cobwebs of their own weaving. How much must it not gladden the heart of every true born Englishman, zealous for his king and country, and happy in the union of church and state, when I inform them, that the arch traitor Priestley was one of those dupes: and that his fortune, formerly employed with too much success to sap the foundation of every thing noble and grand in the fabric of our Gothic institutions, is now pocketed by an American land speculating-swindler; and, that all that remains to him of his former greatness, is some twenty or thirty thousand acres of land situated among rocks and dreadful precipices, 40 miles from any habitation, and yet untrodden by the foot of man. And as for poor Cooper, his coadjutor, though it is almost impossible he could suffer too much for publishing that infamous lying pamphlet in 1794, with a view of inveigling, kidnapping and trepanning his majesty's liege subjects from a happy mediocrity, obtained by moderate labour, in the bosom of civil society, to the wilds of Northumbria-Pennsylvania, inhabited by wild beasts, and men worse

worse than savages, men under whose inhospitable roof no man ever entered but to be swindled: Poor Cooper! is at this moment languishing in Pennsylvania jail, a victim to the perfidy of his neighbours and of the American "chief who now commands."

True born Britons! you in whose nature a vindictive spirit never entered, could you wish to see your enemies, those enemies bred in your own bosom, meet a more just retribution for their crimes.

But what adds to the measure of their calamities, is, that they are hated and despised by the American people, who, ignorant of their talents, see in them only the disorganizers and destroyers of all government. But who, my dear countrymen, inflicted the last part of their punishment—Peter Porcupine is the man: he it was that held them up as traitors, parricides and atheists to America, and represented their philosophy as the breath of pestilence to every civil society.

But the Americans themselves also fell into their own toils: Europeans were soon undeceived with respect to the quality of the lands; and, therefore immense tracts of mountain lay unfold, and absorbed that capital, which might have been employed in improving improveable lands, and was the ruin of many an American land jobber.

Another

Another class of sovereign citizens were those who dreamt of making their fortunes by trading with foreign nations: but, there being little money in the country (the specie having been exhausted in the war) it was reserved for our pretended friends only, who could obtain credit in England, to commence that undertaking. So have I seen two soldiers, in the barracks at Halifax, on the day before pay day, the one having bilked the landlady durst not ask for more credit; the other, equally guilty, but who had not been seen in the nefarious transaction, had the impudence to run his face for a pint of whisky.—In the same manner, those cowardly tories, who, wishing well to England, had not the courage to fight for her, now had the impudence to solicit credit from that country whom they had treacherously opposed by standing neuter on the day of trial. The English merchants and manufacturers are not scrupulous about giving credit. The quakers in Pennsylvania, and our friends in other states, met with success in their first undertaking beyond example, and equal to the first speculators in land; so that it was difficult to determine which was the most profitable speculation: some of these adventurers, with a view of making the most of every thing, sold whole cargoes of English goods for half their original cost, in order to speculate in the purchase of back lands: but the lands remain unsold; the creditors in England unpaid, and the debtor or speculator, run away, in jail, or become bankrupt.

The

The third class of selfish men produced by the revolution were those who directed their attention to manufacturing. It was supposed that the legislatures would make laws favourable to their interest, in order to raise America from a *nominal* to a *real* independence; and, the state legislatures seemed, at that time, to second their views. This was an enterprize, the most serious that could arise, to the interests of England, and various were the schemes attempted by our agents to strangle the infant Hercules in the cradle. It has been accomplished, equal to our most sanguine wishes. In the other speculations thousands were ruined, but thousands also made immense fortunes: But, fortunately for Great Britain, in the manufacturing projects, there was a general wreck: not an individual was saved; and such is now, happily, the dislike to those undertakings, that this generation must pass away, before any attempts will be made to revive them.

Previous to the revolution America could not manufacture a hob-nail for her own use; this prohibition was the effect of a British act of parliament: and the folly of American projectors has prolonged that prohibition which the omnipotence of our parliament attempted in vain. Such is the almighty power of silent ever-wakeful British influence. After America had spilt the blood of her bravest men, in a contest for seven years to obtain independence, it was rendered a mere bubble by the intriguing  
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 genius

genius of Englishmen, and their friends, dispersed through the states. The Tories have no talents for the field, but in the cabinet their powers are wonderful. The overthrow of these manufacturing establishments must be considered as a *chef d'œuvre*; whether we regard the means by which it was accomplished, or the grand end that was steadily kept in view; (viz.) to keep fast hold of the skirts of the garments of Columbia, and let her on no account go. As to the *means* of destruction, it was various, as the characters of the owners, the situation, or nature of the establishments. Sometimes by fire; but most generally by inundating the markets with goods of the same manufacture from this country, and selling them far below the prime cost, in order to drive American manufacturers out of their own market. Another method was, to recommend English artists of no talents to their notice, as men of the first rate abilities. But what favoured us more than any thing else was, the war that broke out about this time betwixt France and England. The manufacturies of France were cut up. Those demagogues who had seized the reins of government in that country, totally ignorant of the mode of warfare that ought to have been pursued against us, suffered their own manufacturies to dwindle, whilst ours gained strength by their downfall. It was completely in their power, at one time, to have crippled our cotton manufacture, by harassing the transportation of cotton wool; and guarding with vigilance  
those

those places from whence we have the best supply: by this means the Brazil and Surinam cotton, without which we cannot make our finest muslins, might have been raised so high in the foreign market as to prevent their consumption: or, even at times, by a scarcity, throw half the Scots and Manchester manufacturies idle for the want of wool. But what did these French demagogues do? by setting the blacks at liberty in the West-Indies, the war whoop was raised, which drove to the Atlantic shores 20,000 Frenchmen, and silver in specie to the amount of 40 millions of dollars; a sum which at least doubled the specie in the United States, the consequence of which was, that the price of manual labour, and every article of consumption was doubled. Thus a state of things was introduced, which made it impossible for the infant manufacturies of America to contend with the old established ones of England.

During this period of speculation we are now speaking of, there arose a set of swindlers of a new description; the nature of whose villany, the goodness of our laws make us totally unacquainted with, these men set about projecting some internal improvement upon the face of the country, for the general accommodation of the sovereign people, such as canals, bridges, quays, manufacturies, turnpike roads, &c. of which America is greatly destitute: in short, every project that a fertile imagination could conceive, was to be executed by a *lottery*; every

body, young and old, rich and poor, who could raise ten dollars, from Vermont to Georgia, were subscribers to some one or other of these lotteries, in hopes of making sudden and rapid fortunes. But they all turned out no more than a bag of moonshine: some of these lotteries were never drawn; some seven years in drawing, and others, after they had been drawn, the prizes could never be known, or if known obtained. It was in vain to prosecute them; they shifted the blame from one to another, and the only person allowed to be responsible, you would find either in jail, or dead, or run away.

But the most barefaced, shameless, hardened villain that I ever heard of, who had any connection with these lotteries was one Blodget. Although it was notorious that he had swindled the proprietors of Washington lottery tickets, to the amount of 50,000 dollars, he had still the impudence to thrust himself into the best company (but the best is no great things) in Philadelphia. Many a time I have had a month's mind to kick the rascal out of my shop, when he came there skulking, and claiming an acquaintance, on account of the similarity of our political opinions. I thought such a fellow would disgrace any opinions; and so it would any where but in Philadelphia. But as I was then shooting at higher game, in which the puppy might be serviceable, I thought it best to let him sometimes trot at my heels, coupled  
to



to parson Abercrombie, or any other of the spaniel tribe.

Could you have imagined, my dear countrymen, that in America, where there are plenty of lands to cultivate, and where it is in the power of any young industrious man to acquire a decent farm of his own, that the whole continent, from one end to the other, should be taken up in such wild speculations as I have described? Was it possible for you to think, that those very manufacturies, by which you have gained such immense riches, and eclipsed every other nation, should be totally despised by the people: discouraged by the legislatures; and, consequently, the ruin of those who engaged in them? Such is, however, the fact, and you may rejoice in it; if they are fools you reap the advantage of that folly: and there is *now* no hazard in declaring it. Their opinions of commerce, the arts and agriculture, are fixed into prejudices, which nothing but poverty and a new generation can efface: yes! when they become so poor that they are unable to purchase your manufactures, they will then cease to purchase them, but not till then. When they are become so poor, as not to be able to establish manufacturies, then they will think of establishing them; but not till then.—They say, “How can we ever be poor, while we have so much land!” but they might consider that land is not riches, until it be cultivated; and that there is no encouragement for cultivation when  
the

the produce costs as much to bring it to market as it is worth; that manufacturies bring the market to the farmer's door; and draws the farms cloſer together; whereas a want of theſe, keeps the cultivators aſunder, and makes them occupy a greater ſpace of ground.

When you contemplate America at a diſtance, you are apt to figure to yourſelves a country, where the people are pleaſed with a rural life, and that in their houſes peace, honeſty, and ſimplicity reigns; that their hoſpitality to ſtrangers is unbounded, and that they have no occaſion to uſe any low cunning or craft in the way of bargaining, for the ſake of a trifling gain: but, be not deceived, the very reverſe of this, would be a genuine picture of the American character.

Having thus taken a curſory view of the *ſelfiſh* party, we ſhall turn again to the views of the politicians, and their formations into parties. It cannot be denied, that, a conſiderable portion of the people of North America, notwithstanding their love of *independence*, were prejudiced in favour of a limited monarchy, ſimilar to that of Great Britain. Under the protection of our government, they had arrived at a more perfect ſtate of civil liberty than the colonies of any other European nation. When they turned their eyes to Mexico, Peru, the Brazils or any of the Antillès, nothing was to be ſeen but ſlavery, under various garbs: the  
human

human mind held in bondage, and prevented from developing its powers. Whereas Anglo-America, had no other appearance of being a new country, than the extent of uncultivated land, and the want of some of those Gothic ornaments which indicate the antiquity of some of our institutions. In England we have laws, customs and usages, whose original is so wrapt up in the dark ages, that it is impossible for human ingenuity to trace them to their source; whereas in the United States—though man and his prejudices be the same as in Europe—yet this circumstance gives it the appearance of a new country, that not any family, or opinion, or religion, has yet obtained a pre-eminence over another; and therefore, upon the whole, our late colonies has more the resemblance of an engrafted branch, from an old trunk, which immediately gives fruit, than a plant raised from seed, which yields no fruit for many years. The learned, therefore, amongst our former colonists, were able to know, and appreciate, the value of our glorious constitution; and, (like a good apprentice, who, though he is not willing to serve longer than the term of his apprenticeship, is, nevertheless, desirous of following the same trade after the example of his master, who has been enriched by the calling) were determined, without venturing on new ground, to have a constitution of government similar to our own. On the other hand, their revolution not being the work of one man, or even body of men (though Washington occupies a conspicuous

spicuous nich in the edifice,) it was difficult to determine who should be the head of the structure, or fill up the intermediate grades from him to the people. It was evident that to form such an arrangement, and to choose from such an infinite number of pretensions, would cause great heart-burnings, and produce more foes than friends.

The leaders of an army in time of war, are not always qualified to guide the councils of a nation in peace; and those who know the character of the American officers, must acknowledge, with due deference to their bravery, that they were no more capable of exercising the civil offices in a state, generally, than the tavern keepers of England would be fit to succeed the lords and commons. For these reasons, the wishes of sensible Americans, with respect to their future system of government was suspended for a time; or, until the soldiers should mix into the mass of citizens, and be forgotten, or no longer regarded.

It was in vain to stifle the pretensions of those men who had stood forward in the revolution. They had been active and attentive to the interests of America; and it was not easy, whatever might be their talents, to command them into silence; or that their companions in arms, should tell them not to intermeddle in the affairs of that country whom they equally had endeavoured to emancipate: hence the origin  
of

of the two political parties, which agitate North America, The republicans appeared to be the strongest; and to have the best reasons on their side; because republican institutions were already formed throughout the states; the greater number of officers, both in the militia and civil departments, being elected by the people; a system which is eternally standing in opposition to, and controlling the best concerted schemes of the statesman. The monarchists, again, were powerful by their talents, their riches, and by their connections with Great Britain; and, above all, by the influence of Washington, who secretly inclined that way. To one or other of these parties, each of the *selfish* ranged themselves, as interest directed. The merchants were unanimously in favour of monarchy, and an intimate connection with Great Britain—because, from that country, they gained their credit and riches.

The land speculators were also for monarchy, because to that form of government an aristocracy is a necessary appendage. And, who I may ask, is so proper to be created dukes, and earls, and peers, as men of great landed property? Each of these, therefore, having an imaginary coronet on his head, despised the mass of the people; and were eager to assist, or second the views of Great Britain, in concentrating the powers of the American government.

It was, however, in my opinion, diametrically opposite to the interest of the land speculators to promote a connection with our country; population ought to have been their sole objection; for we know that commerce, without the arts, gives no great or lasting spring to population. But the love of honours and the lust of power dazzled the understandings of these men; and we have seen them laying obstructions in the way of population, by rendering emigrations disadvantageous; and seconding the views of this country, because our partizans favoured their aristocratic projects.

As to those who had undertaken manufactures, they were generally favourable to republican principles; but were equally zealous to give greater powers to the general government; hoping, that such restrictions would be laid on the importation of foreign goods, as to encourage their infant undertakings, and keep the specie in the country.

All parties were therefore zealous to strengthen and extend the powers of the general government; and there was no division, except as to the *extent* of those powers. The friends of Great Britain had no other motive for preferring a monarchy to any other form of government, than the faculty which that form would give to establish and continue an influence, so necessary to support our trade with the states.

When

When the federal government was formed, it was, for all these reasons, hardly what any of the parties wished it to be. It was the best however that any of them could obtain. It was a constitution made up of compromises. But what pleased our party, and the parties who seconded our views, was, that it contained some doubtful clauses, which a president, under our influence, might easily construe to mean more than met the eye. Again, the treaty-making power being lodged almost entirely in the president, pointed out to us the place to which we ought to direct our artillery. Moreover, by this instrument, treaties are declared to be the *supreme law* of the land, which already has been interpreted to mean, that they are superior to the laws of congress, and that when the one comes in competition with the other, the laws of congress must cede to the treaty. Here was a great point gained: George III. and John Adams, if they are agreed, can make laws to bind America *in all cases whatsoever*, and we all know that as long as a king of England has a million of secret service money, a president of America will never be found who could find in his heart to disagree from so amiable a monarch. Some people are indeed of opinion that should Jefferson succeed to that office he would be above a bribe, and I myself have some reason to believe it; but of such an event there is not the smallest probability.

The whole electors for president and and vice-  
 O o 2 president

president are only about 130; which at 5000 dollars each, makes only 650,000 dollars; a sum not worth mentioning, when it is to purchase the right of binding America in all cases whatsoever. But to bribe every elector is not necessary—two in Pennsylvania, two in New-Jersey, two in Maryland, and two in North-Carolina are all that is wanted. The other states are all determined for, or against us.

The republicans were reconciled to the constitution, because it guaranteed to every and each of the states a republican form of government; but that has been got over; John Adams having declared, that “a republican government means any thing or nothing.” A fact so true and so happily expressed, that we should be under infinite obligations to the man who made it, if he were otherways a man to be depended on. But he is not, which will be seen in due time.

When the federal constitution was ratified, the majority of all parties joined in the general joy. The monarchists thinking they had gained the first step towards royalty; and the republicans imagining they had consolidated the republic. The first session or two of congress passed over with little jarring: but such a state of things could not be expected to continue long in a popular assembly. The monarchists, on the one hand, began to shew a disposition to increase the power of the president; at the  
same



same time the republicans, jealous of that power, endeavoured to promote the interests of the people; whilst our ministry, ever attentive to the interest of the empire, thought it proper to attempt to conciliate the minds of Americans towards England and Englishmen; against whom, that bitter enmity, generated by a long and cruel war, was not by any means abated: and, as a part of the same system, to sow the seeds of discord between Americans and Frenchmen. This could only be done by means of the press. It was about this period that I arrived in Philadelphia, where I attended congress daily; obtained a little knowledge of the leaders of each party; and meditated on my future method of attack on the republicans; whom I soon found, were those who retained the most implacable hatred against England and English connections. Happy should I have been, if I could have recommended the anarchy of republicanism, to the *virtuous* Americans: but I studied the interest of my country. To make the name of Englishman a friendly sound—to recommend an imitation of our government, our fashions, our propensities, and finally to make them pay a tribute to England, through the medium of her manufactures, was the object nearest my heart: for this purpose France, Frenchmen, republicanism, and all their partizans, were from thence forward to become the objects of my keenest satire.

And now, my dear countrymen, you who shall

shall do me the honour to read those works, which were undertaken upon principles of the purest patriotism, excuse me, when you find the language sometimes bordering upon the style used in a certain market near London-bridge, or in a certain parish near Tottenham-court-road, and deviating from that urbanity you so much admire; for you must know, that the style I have adopted is the same originally imported into those states by their illustrious forefathers, who were, for the most part, emigrants from that celebrated parish, and who made that venerable mansion, which stood formerly at the top of Snow-hill, their general rendezvous; a style which still holds its pre-eminence, and takes the lead of every other; and which the ladies of Philadelphia practice with a charming grace.

My first works was a pamphlet, called, "Observations on the Emigration of Doctor Priestley." It attracted the public attention, but my bookseller, a tame, time-serving, goose of a fellow, robbed me of the profits. My ardour, for the cause of my country, did not, however, abate; and I was encouraged to proceed, by several occurrences which took place at that time, and which seemed to promise a favourable issue to the undertaking. We had, all along reckoned, that if we could get over Washington fully into our views, that the business was more than half done. We were certain that he favoured us; but he could not be pushed forward

forward to act. He was one of those men that lay watching for favourable opportunities, and did not fail, promptly, to profit by them, when they presented; but he did not possess that daring spirit, which could create occasions; neither could he be brought to be open and explicit respecting his intentions. His opinions, therefore, were gathered more by inference from his actions, than by verbal or written declarations. The proclamation of neutrality, augured well—but the appointment of one of our warmest friends to the important place of secretary of the treasury, was—to me an indubitable proof that we might rely on the cautious efforts of Washington. His approbation of the system of taxation by an excise, was another corroborating circumstance. His manner of appointing Jay, on the celebrated mission, confirmed the wavering; and the arts by which a trifling affray was exaggerated into rebellion, we considered as a *chief d'œuvre* in political generalship. If any doubt still remained of his attachment to our cause (monarchy and an alliance with Great Britain,) they were completely dispelled by his speech to congress in December, 1794; which is a good paraphrase on the speech that his majesty, made to his parliament in 1776, when speaking of his deluded subjects in North-America. From all these circumstances it appeared clear to me, that our enemies, the republicans, might be attacked openly and boldly with impunity, I therefore determined to give them no rest or quarter.

quarter. But as the mode of warfare by pamphleteering was too expensive as well as inefficacious, by not meeting the eye of the multitude; and apt to grow languid for want of opposition, I resolved to establish a daily newspaper.

It is well known, that at the period I am speaking of, there was not one good paper in the United States, conducted by anyman of common capacity; and where there was any abilities, they were all against us. The Aurora, a paper which supported the republican interest, was the only one in which there was the shadow, of talents; but he was cowardly, and all my art could never bring him out into the open field of argument; not all the abuse that could be bestowed on himself, his friends, his principles, or even on the memory of old Lightning Rod, his grandfather, could rouse him into open warfare or to adopt a system of defence. His talents, which were, certainly, respectable, were confined to an abuse of the British and their American adherents, and a defence of the abominable French principles of liberty and equality: from this latter circumstance, however, I took advantage to represent him and his party as pensioners of France; a battery that did great execution; and which was well seconded by my *soi-disant* friends, Harper, Otis, Rutledge, and Dana, in congress. This attack we kept up with unceasing assiduity, until all America was convinced of its truth; and

and, the Aurora, the name of Franklin, and even the words republic and republican, became odious, and used as terms of reproach. If in all my attacks, I had been as well seconded as I was in this, and the black cockade business, (which shall be more particularly noticed by and bye) an hereditary first magistrate might now have quieted America, and an alliance offensive and defensive with Great Britain, would have protected that country, from foreign insults. But what shall I say! Or what can be said? but that there is no dependance on the word of an American. I imagined that I could place unbounded confidence and certain reliance on Harper, Otis, Dana, Rutledge, and many others in congress; on Fenno, Noah Webster, Ben. Russell, and many more of my fellow labourers, in different parts of the union; but the timid slaves will bark, chatter, and shew their teeth, with great courage, when little or no opposition is made; but the moment they receive a bite or a smart stroke which touches them to the quick, they immediately run off (*la queue entre les jambes*) like other spaniels. It was this that made Washington, the immortal Washington himself, retire. His retiring from the *busy scenes of public life*, which was blazoned forth in Europe as the most heroic action, was only a manœuvre to avoid public scrutiny of character. But he is not here meant to be implicated with *those* wretches who deserted the cause, or in the end were lukewarm towards it. He, never thought of

carrying the grand object by any other means than by calm, peaceable persuasion, and by time and patience. The revolution had been gained, and independence established principally by those means; and they were, in his mind, infallible remedies to every political malady; when, therefore, he saw that we were determined to take the citadel by storm, he retired; not that he disliked the object, but the means.

All parties affected to regret the loss of Washington, but none were truly sorry. His culpable procrastination and delay in forwarding the happiness of America, by not giving her an hereditary first magistrate, when it was believed to be in his power, gave the monarchists (who had now taken the appellation of federalists) hope, that their views would be better answered by John Adams, whom they knew to be more fond of violent measures, to gain his ends. His letters, written during the war, were an evidence that he would not hesitate about trifles.

A letter from John Adams, dated Amsterdam, 15th of December, 1780, to Thomas Cushing, lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, contains the following paragraph:

“ It is true I believe, what you suggest, that  
 “ lord North shewed a disposition to give up  
 “ the contest, but was diverted from it, not  
 “ unlikely

“ unlikely by the representation of the Ame-  
 “ ricans in London, who, in conjunction with  
 “ their co-adjutors in America, have been  
 “ thorns to us indeed on both sides of the wa-  
 “ ter: but I think their career might have been  
 “ stopped on your side, if the executive officers  
 “ had not been too timid in a point which I so  
 “ strenuously recommended at first, namely,  
 “ *to fine, imprison, and hang all inimical to the*  
 “ *cause, without favour or affection!* I foresaw  
 “ the evil that would arise from that quarter,  
 “ and wished to have stopt it——*I would have*  
 “ *hanged my own brother, if he had took a part*  
 “ *with our enemy in this contest.*”

This was a sufficient proof to convince us,  
 that whatever were the objects to be pursued  
 during the administration of John Adams, they  
 would be pursued with an unfeeling severity.  
 His inaugural speech at the commencement of  
 that most extraordinary session, was calculated  
 to stop the carpings of the republican party,  
 and to elevate our hopes; he might, however,  
 have spared his retrospective reflections upon  
 the unfortunate revolution. Could he not  
 have put America in mind of his great services,  
 without opening those wounds and making them  
 bleed afresh, which it was his interest to heal  
 up? But the old man, is so fond of letting the  
 world know that he was a member of that con-  
 gress which declared America independent,  
 that he must allude to it on every occasion. If  
 he had ever been in a more perilous situation to

serve the republic, it would have been remembered and that forgotten. But John managed his matters so well, as never to see a shot fired in anger.

What also should have prevented him from recalling those odious reflections, might have been the remembrance that Jefferson, his present political opponent, was the penman of that declaration.

John was no sooner elevated to the dignity of president, than he longed to shew his power, and put his schemes in action; an opportunity soon offered of calling congress together, respecting the mission to France. On that occasion I expected no other than a declaration of war against that country; and, as a consequence of that measure, an alliance offensive and defensive with England. But a declaration of open war, met with so much opposition from the republicans, that the monarchists, with John Adams at their head, were contented with half measures; a mongrel state, neither of war nor peace; but which demonstrated the nullity of the constitution which says, Sect. 8. The Congress shall have power—to declare war—Now it is certain that Congress never did declare war, though they entered into a system of defence, which had the appearance of warlike preparations. But, every one knows, that nations may put on a warlike aspect without being actually engaged in it. Nor did the American  
or



or French citizens understand that they were at war with each other, until it was declared from the judiciary. A very curious question indeed to come before a court of justice, and the first time in the history of nations, that ever war was declared by a judge. A declaration of war, every one knows, ought to be a solemn and public act, of the executive, that the subjects of either power may know the relation they stand in to each other: but all our influence not being able to prevail on congress to declare war against the French, a mean was found to evade the constitution; and judge Washington has lately, from the bench, as judge Chase, in the case of Cooper, had done before him, declared, the two countries, France and America, to be at war—infering *that*, from certain doubtful parts of the acts of congress which ought to be as clear as noon day.

I only mention this at present, to shew, of how little use, are those written constitutions which have been the boast of the democrats, ever since written constitutions came in fashion. It would be easy for me to shew that the principal parts of the constitution of the United States have been infringed already; and in a few years, if John Adams continues president, it will be curious to observe into what strange forms he shall have twisted it; and I hope my friend, J. W. Fenno, will send us over a picture of the practice, that we may compare it with the theory, or written constitution.

Already

Already many of the powers vested in congress have been, by them, bestowed on the president. In particular, the power of raising and supporting armies, is, by an act passed by congress, transferred to him; and he is made the sole judge of the necessity of raising a regular army, to the extent of 10,000 men; and without any restrictions as to the number of volunteers who should arm and equip themselves at their own expense.

The constitution also gives power to congress, "to provide and maintain a navy:"—but they have authorised the president to accept, by way of loan of any number of ships that may be offered to him. The constitution has also given power to congress "to borrow money on the credit of the United States:"—but they have given the president power to borrow 8,000,000 of dollars, without any limitation as to the amount of the interest to be paid on the loan. Thus, congress have by these different acts, transferred the power over the purse and the sword, vested in them by the constitution, to the president, and shewn us, what we always predicted, the absurdity of written constitutions.

The opposition to the war system, by the republican members in congress, was too strong to warrant John Adams in going any greater lengths than he did; and too weak not to give great hopes that he would finally succeed;  
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what could not be accomplished by fair argument, was attempted by alarm and persecutions. In raising the first, our friend Harper had an excellent talent. The public mind was kept in suspense, while he was pursuing his threads and clues—and no sooner had he lost the end of one clue, than he found another, which led him into tubs with false bottoms, ladies toilettes, and tailors shops.

That political engine which we call addresses, and which has been so successfully used here, to give a bias to public opinion, was resorted to, and found extremely efficacious; and, to give a more sudden impulse to our system, I fell upon the lucky idea of mounting the black or English cockade, in opposition to the tri-coloured one, worn by the French. I was immediately followed by all the English party, the federalists, and all the weak minded and timorous, even among the republicans. I had hopes by this means of bringing matters to a crisis; and did not doubt, but an engagement would take place, between the men with, and those without cocades. In this, however, I was deceived. The republicans were determined to remain quiet, notwithstanding the insults and provocations we constantly gave them, at every opportunity.

At this period the various parties in the British interest, seconded each others endeavours with great animation. The president let slip  
no

no opportunity of villifying the French and of recommending strong measures, standing armies, navies and national debts. In congress, the same ideas were re-echoed, and all his measures carried, against a feeble resistance from those chatterers, Nicholson, Gallatin, Livingston, &c. The judges were exerting themselves, in many parts of the union, against the licentiousness of the press; and in cases where their power failed, we had some active armed citizens, who knew how to do us summary justice by club law. The commissioners had arrived from France, after performing that curious farce of negotiation, which has not its equal in the annals of diplomacy. Indeed every thing was ripe for bold and decided measures. An open, irreconcilable, and exterminating war against France; an alliance offensive and defensive with Great Britain: John Adams appointed president for life, and the senate authorized to choose a family in which that dignity should be hereditary. These should have been the measures at that time pursued, while republicans were objects of contempt and their principles almost universally exploded: when, in fact, they could make no resistance. How often have I dwelt upon this enlivening subject to Harper and the rest, who all approved of the project; and I believe warmly advocated it, with the old man, who was to act a principal part in the drama. This old gentleman, though extremely anxious for its success, wished, that other people should take the burden of the labour,

bour, and for that purpose called the council of Trenton. To that assembly, unfortunately for us, was called a certain cautious chief, whose approbation was by some thought absolutely necessary. He was, as usual, for slow and circumspective measures, and could not be brought to see the necessity of an immediate rupture with France, a coalition with England, or the propriety of then introducing an hereditary first magistrate, against the sense of the republicans, whom he still deemed too formidable to affront. The sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other, was his favourite maxim.

Among those who attended this celebrated council, not one joined with him in opinion. But the old gentleman, and some others, thought it absolutely necessary to yield to it; because no scheme of such magnitude could be accomplished without his approbation. His man Timothy, and Alexander Hamilton, however, did not think the opinion or approbation of one man, however respectable, a sufficient reason for giving up a project, on which the future glory of themselves and America so much depended; and have therefore, ever since, held the old gentleman in sovereign contempt for his culpable indecision.

Three commissioners were accordingly dispatched on another mission to France, but it is thought they have secret orders not to finish

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the negotiation until the event of the approaching election for president be known.

In the mean while, those who expected a rupture with France, and every friend to Great Britain throughout the states, seeing themselves only trifled with, slackened their exertions: the declension of our cause was the natural consequence, and the republicans, raising their heads, began to triumph in their turn. The first convincing proof we had of their strength was the election of chief justice M'Kean, a violent hot-headed jacobin, to be governor of Pennsylvania. As I had always looked forward to that election, as the touchstone by which I could best try the strength of the parties, I had resolved, if he succeeded, to retire from America, as considering my exertions no longer useful, and myself liable to frequent prosecutions from the vindictive spirit of my triumphant enemies: and my readers will allow I had no reason to place any reliance on a Philadelphia jury. I therefore thought it prudent to retire from the fangs of jacobinism, where I could expect no mercy, and only staid in New-York till I could collect some of my outstanding debts. During my short stay in that city I was determined not to be idle. I had an account to settle with the American Sangrado. It was but justice to myself and the world to set that matter in a clear point of view; as through the machinations of my enemies, I had no opportunity of doing it on the trial. I therefore wrote my five first numbers of the "Rush-Light."

It is impossible for me to say, what will cure that fever which prevails every autumn in a greater or less degree in the towns of America, but of this we are certain, that *excessive* bleeding is not the cure; and there is great reason to believe, that *excessive* bleeding changes the common remitting or even intermitting fever, into that rapid fatal fever which is common to hot countries; and I still insist upon it, that I do good to mankind, when I expose that system from which no good has arisen; and the doctor who so obstinately and culpably persists in it; although it is out of my power, as all the doctors say it is out of theirs, to prescribe a certain specific.

In returning to the bosom of my country, I thought it would be doing some of my countrymen an essential service, by giving them an idea of the people, the parties, and present state of America. For a long period of years they will be our best customers, whatever may be the trifling changes in their political affairs at home.

The merchants, on the one hand, and the holders of unoccupied back lands, on the other, will prevent, for the next century at least, a good system of husbandry, or the arts, from being established in America.

The holders of back lands are endeavouring, by every means in their power, to attract the

current of population into different directions, through a country of boundless extent; so that the population of the interior will never be so much condensed as to make manual labour cheap, or favourable for manufacturies, and an improved state of agriculture; and every body knows, that the sea ports of any country are unfavourable situations for the arts (except the *fine arts*, to a certain degree).

Besides, it is the interest of the American merchants to prevent their establishment.

It is more fortunate for England than America, that the latter possesses such unbounded territory. "Where land is so easily obtained, it is never managed with due attention. The incentives to the exercise of skill are taken away. After having exhausted one spot, the farmer removes to another: grounds which once carried hickory and oak, abandoned in their impoverished state, return to nature, and bear secondary forests of pine. Local attachments are dissolved, and a vagabond life becomes familiar to the inhabitants." There is but a shade of difference betwixt a back woodman and an Indian; and if it were left for me to say which was the superior being, I should determine it in favour of the Indian. If I were to consider the extensive country of America as a large estate, the property of an individual, I should not hesitate to tell that individual that more of his lands were annually laid by, as worn  
out,



out, than were brought into an improved state of husbandry ; and that he was like some of our young lords, who cut down their woods, the savings of an hundred years, to spend at the gaming table.

These are circumstances under which America lie, that cannot be prevented by any government. Their population *must* be diffused over the interior ; their lands half cultivated, and their clothing imported from abroad. That nation, therefore, which can sell the cheapest, and give the greatest credit to the merchant, will always have the preference.

“ Manufactures cannot live, much less  
 “ thrive, without honour, fidelity, punctuality,  
 “ public and private faith, a sacred respect to  
 “ property, and the moral obligation of pro-  
 “ mises and contracts ; virtues and habits  
 “ which never did, and never will generally  
 “ prevail in any populous nation, without a  
 “ decisive, as well as an intelligent and honest  
 “ government. The science of political eco-  
 “ nomy, is but a late study, and is not yet ge-  
 “ nerally understood among us.” (Americans.)

So says John Adams, their present president ; and, in this, we perfectly agree in opinion.

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TO THE  
P E O P L E  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

**W**HILST I lived among you, I was considered by one half the Americans, and those the most intelligent, as one of the best friends to the two countries; and by the factious jacobins, men of narrow and selfish views, as the greatest possible enemy of America.

If I had been your real enemy, would I have given myself the trouble to advise you against dangerous connections? Is it a mark of enmity to a young man when you shew him the depravity of the company he hankers after, or warn him of the dreadful consequences, which is likely to ensue, from a connection with athiests, murderers and rebels! A young man of no experience might probably think you his enemy, and treat you with disdain and contempt, for your good intentions; but that does not alter the nature of the thing. You would be sorry  
that

that your admonitions were ineffectual, and console yourself with a good conscience, and the pleasing reflection of having done your duty. This is exactly my case with respect to you. I saw the dreadful precipice over which you were placed, and just ready to precipitate yourselves. I saw also, the gay scenes of wealth, riches, and prosperity, which awaited you, if you would only retrace your steps. I therefore warned you of the one, and invited you to the other. I warned you of engaging with regicide France. I pointed out the ignorance and stupidity of some of your own citizens, who encouraged such a connection; and the villany of some foreign vipers whom you nourished in your bosom, only to sting you to the heart. Did I not daily, and without ceasing, admonish you against such connections, which I was sure would bring you to ruin and disgrace; and, in the most friendly manner, advised you to join cordially and affectionately, forgetting all animosities, with that powerful nation, who nursed you in your tender infancy, and reared you into manhood; protecting you at all times; and driving far from you those insidious neighbours, the French, who, in possession of Canada and Louisiana, would have been a thorn in your side, and a scourge to your back forever? was it not my wish that you should join with that nation, who, speaking the same language, is formed by nature to be a lasting friend; and who has only the power, by her outstretched arm, the navy, to protect you from foreign insult?

Ungrateful

Ungrateful Pennsylvanians ! was it for these unequivocal testimonies of my sincere wishes for your happiness, that I was prosecuted, my life threatened, and finally obliged to leave the country ? Could you not have sense enough to perceive that my admonitions were preferable to the ravings of that United Irish Aurora man, Duane, the advocate of regicides, the enemy of his own country and the justifier of rebellion ? As far as his conduct regards myself I forgive him ; we stood on even ground, and fought with the same weapons ; but that you should withdraw your protection from one who volunteered in your service, and hasten to subscribe to the calumnies of mine and your own enemy, fills me with astonishment. I, whom, at one time, all Philadelphia, nay all America, revered and looked up to, as the oracle of truth ; without once deviating from the path of rectitude, which I had laid down for my conduct, was by you, ungrateful people, shamefully abandoned. How many protestations and promises of eternal friendship, protection and encouragement have I not received from the leaders of your federal party, from the thunderer Dayton, in congress, down to Wharton, your thundering mayor. Those false promises, and deceitful protestations, without giving me pain, convinces me that there can be no steadiness or virtue in a republic ; and, if there be any truth in the maxim of Montesquieu that “ *virtue* must be the foundation

dition of republics," yours must soon fall, since it is without foundation.

Whilst I published PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE, three objects seemed to be necessary to the re-establishment of your virtue and happiness, and consequently, claimed my attention. First, A powerful executive, with a standing army at his command—Secondly, Hostility against France, and a detestation of her crimes—Thirdly, An alliance with Great Britain, and an imitation of her probity and good faith. I shall now, perhaps for the last time, touch a little on each of these subjects—and first, I shall ask, of what use is a government or laws, without power in the one, to enforce the other? my opponents urge, that a militia is equal to every purpose of defence or offence. If so, it must be constituted upon far different principles from that of the United States, now become confederated.

One of the principal dangers to be apprehended under your government, is, the rebellion of one or more of the states, who may chance to have governors, or legislatures, inimical to the federal government. In that case, what dependance could a president place in officers of the militia appointed by such a governor? Is it not within our remembrance, when two rebellions broke out in Pennsylvania, that the governor was strongly suspected of abetting those rebellions? Neither Washington

nor Adams durst place the command of the troops employed in the expeditions against those rebels, in the governor of the state; nor even trust too many of the Pennsylvania militia on those expeditions. For that reason, the militia of the neighbouring states were harassed with a long march, of several hundred miles, to quell rebellions, which would have been completely crushed by half a regiment of regular troops, under the absolute control of the president, and stationed in some central situation upon the Susquehannah, ready to march to any quarter of the state. Thus 16 regiments of foot and 16 troops of horse, one for every state, would completely hold in check all disorders, and make the will of congress implicitly obeyed through the union. At present, your militia can only be used as a political engine; and can answer no other than factious purposes. Why do we see, in a country boasting of equality, a set of citizens intrude themselves upon the public, as the select defenders of their country? When a man has arms in his hands, the transition from a defender to an offender is so easy, that no man ought to be suffered to volunteer himself in that business. It would seem as if national virtue was asleep, and the mass of the people dilatory in their duty, when volunteers are wanted. Have you ever read in any book which treats of liberty and equal rights, that volunteering is a republican principle? If you admit of volunteers to *defend* the laws, why not admit of volunteers to administer them,

or

or even to make them? If volunteer foldiers, why not volunteer conftables, fheriffs, governors, and prefidents? why all this trouble about election, or why boast of a representative government, when, in fome instances, thefe volunteer foldiers may decide the fate of the ftates? Can you not perceive, O filly Americans! that in thefe volunteer corps lies the germ of fedition and diforganization; and, that they are the tools of faction? To render an armed force of public utility, there muft be harmony and confent of parts; but what harmony can fubfift between the prefidential volunteer guards, under Macpherson, and M'Kean's guards, under Duane? But the prefident, too fenfible of the jarring elements of which thefe volunteer corps are compofed, I hear, has difbanded Macpherson's blues, hoping that M'Kean would do the fame by the republican blues. But M'Kean has not fo much politeneff. The cunning old fox thinks, that the prefident may re-affume his arms in another form, before he could be prepared, and therefore is determined not to be lulled into a fatal fecurity.

But why fhould a regular army be fuch a bugbear to America? or why do you wifh to have a prefident without power? Would it not be as unreafonable to expect a fchoolmafter could do his duty without a rod, or a coachman without his whip, as a prefident without an army? As long as it is in the nature of fome men to be refractory, fo long muft the government have

a power able to restrain them. Hear what John Adams himself says upon this subject. “ If  
 “ there is one truth to be collected from the  
 “ history of all ages, it is this; that the peo-  
 “ ple’s rights and liberties and the *democratical*  
 “ mixture in a constitution, can never be pre-  
 “ served without a *strong* executive.” And  
 what can make him *strong*, but an army, a re-  
 gular army, entirely at his command? The  
 militia to him is nothing, officered as it is, by  
 election; and whose select volunteer corps may  
 be every one of them his avowed enemies?  
 How would Israel Israel like to have his servants  
 appointed by Robert Wharton? Or how could  
 he trust or depend upon servants so appointed?

Duane may, perhaps, tell you, that by an  
 army at the devotion of the president, you  
 might lose your liberties. Yes, you would lose  
 the liberty of doing mischief, of being seditious,  
 and insulting your rulers, as you do now on  
 every occasion; nay the very suffering such a  
 man as Duane among you is a continual, a  
 standing insult to the president: but surely an  
 army would never rob you of the liberty of  
 cultivating your farms, of bringing your pro-  
 duce to market, or sending your ships to sea.

No. A file of musketeers might, indeed,  
 sometimes assist the collector in collecting the  
 taxes; but then, you may readily perceive that  
 such a seasonable precaution, would have effec-  
 tually prevented two very formidable insur-  
 rections.



rections. A small force might be very judiciously applied at elections, to keep the peace and prevent thousands of barrels from being burnt, and the city endangered by fire; but he must be a very captious jacobin indeed, who would pretend to say that the right of suffrage could be thereby infringed. And if a serjeants' command, should be ordered to attend in the courts of justice, to silence that buzzing noise too, frequent on trials for sedition, &c. it would certainly forward the cause of justice. How shameful it is to see a reverend judge, in the middle of a pleading, be obliged to bawl out to the sovereign people, with face as red as scarlet, and eyes flashing fire; to the disgrace of justice, the bench and the laws? All this would be remedied by having three or four file of soldiers dispersed through the hall. Even the ravings of the democrats in congress might be kept in check, by a few grenadiers advancing *au pas de charge*, and headed by a Macpherson or a Miercken.

Many are the advantages which would result from a strong executive. Harmony and peace would then reign from Vermont to Georgia; and not a whisper of discontent would be heard through the wide extent of the union. Not a single jacobin would then be found to disturb the harmony of the social orders; and the country would be no longer bored with dull, stupid and lying gazettes. But you are afraid of the expense. What! an extensive  
and

and populous nation, afraid of the expense of supporting a small military establishment! you ought to be ever ashamed to mention the expense, when you know its utility. Twenty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, with a train of artillery in proportion, would be quite sufficient to make a beginning. This would be nothing, especially when you shall know that I intend to recommend to you a total direction of a navy. When I come to recommend to you an intimate connection with Great Britain, it will be seen that a navy can be of no use to America, because that of Great Britain would be sufficient for all the purposes of both nations.

If you will not be convinced by this reasoning, of the necessity and propriety of strengthening the executive arm, you would not be convinced though one rose from the dead.

Let me, however, intreat you to shun all connections with that den of monsters, France. Their crimes and impieties are of a contagious nature; and are capable of infecting the political and moral atmosphere of every nation. Why do you run from the yellow fever? Have you not always found your best safety in flight? And is it not the same in the moral as in the natural world? Attend to the old maxim, "Evil communication corrupts good manners." And although *your* manners cannot be corrupted, your morals may. It may be said, indeed, with too much truth, that you can swindle, deceive,

deceive, lie and be ungrateful ; and that these peccadilloes are become so common, as not to wound the conscience of an American. But you are not yet cannibals ! you have not yet arrived at that degree of turpitude, as to take a pleasure in killing and eating the man who should differ from you in opinion—you might empty his purse—witness the 5000 dollar jury business—but the extent of your vengeance to his person would never, I apprehend, go beyond gouging out his two eyes. But do you think you would be able to retain your *virtue* after a connection with regicide France ? No ! instead of those slight punishments inflicted upon Duane, by Miercken, or on the printer at Reading, by the Lancaster heroes, or the spitting fracas in congress, in the event of a league with France, on such occasions we should have heard of Duane, Dallas, Leib, Coxe, Lyon, Gallatin, &c. making a procession to the guillotine ; and in a month afterwards, Cobbett, Harper, Otis, Grifwold and Fenno going the same road. You are bad ; and for that very reason, you would be sooner made worse, by bad company. As a proof that you are apt scholars at a bad lesson, you may remember how soon gambling became a favourite amusement with you, when it was introduced in 1795-6 by the French aristocrats. You not only fell rapidly into the horrid vice of gaming, but you soon excelled your exemplars ; for they practised it only to pass the time, having nothing else to do ; and always played fair ; win or lose they were peaceable.

peaceable. But as for you, so eager was your thirst for play, that you neglected your business;—gambled with other people's money;—and, when you were on the losing side, a quarrel was generally raised, to confuse the keeper of the bank, that he might be robbed with greater facility.

Did not the women also follow, in their awkward manner, the vile fashions of the French ladies? so that your servant-girls, in whom some years ago one might observe a decent simplicity, were, in '96, all tricked off like French actresses, or *filles de joie*; and the streets of Philadelphia put me in mind of the Palais Royal.

If in these things you made such sudden acquirements, why will you trust yourselves in a treaty with that nation? In an intercourse thus opened, and the subjects of either country passing and repassing, how will it be possible to prevent an inundation of French principles? Did not doctor Logan import so much of that vile commodity, on his return from his jacobinic mission, that I (and I believe every other honest man) durst hardly walk the streets for three months afterwards? Such an impulse did it give, to the latent jacobinic spirit diffused over the country.

Preservation from French principles, French vices, and French diseases, are not the only reasons which should induce you to avoid  
French

French connections ; you ought to avoid offending that power, who can give you the greatest assistance, or annoyance, in the event of a war. France, now become a republic, can no longer assist you, as she did formerly under the monarchy ; she had then a formidable navy, which, with that of Spain, nearly balanced that of Great Britain. At present her navy is totally annihilated, except a few old hulks, so rotten as to be unfit for service, lying in the ports of Brest and Toulon, and which would sink with the first gale of wind.

At the end of the war, France, without a navy, will be incapable of holding a connection with any distant part of the globe. How are the few merchant ships she has, to be protected? They may clear out for the East-Indies, China, the West-Indies, or America, but they will infallibly arrive in a British port.

So, you see, that without a navy they are incapable (to use the words of our virtuous minister), “ to maintain the customary relations of peace and friendship.” It is not only imprudent and impolitic, but impossible, to form a lasting connexion with republican France ; she must dwindle down to a third rate power among the nations ; and, in that state, surrounded as she is by powerful neighbours, she will be peckt at, from time to time, till at last her name will be blotted out of the map of Europe.

We may calculate the progress of her downfall by what she has lost in this war: an empire in the East-Indies: another in the West; and the riches of another empire, in the loss of her trade; so that we may fairly say, without exaggeration, that she has lost three-fourths of her former greatness. And this is the nation you would form a connection with. In your private concerns no one could charge you with such inconsistency, or imprudence. Who are there in Philadelphia, who would trust a man a single dollar, if it were known that he intended to take the benefit of the bankrupt act? And yet, though you know France has become bankrupt, nothing can persuade you from courting her alliance!

Would it not be much more to your interest as individuals, and your aggrandizement as a nation, to court the favour of Great Britain, who, commanding the ocean with her fleet, holds, as it were, the destinies of the world in her hands. If you were to be invaded by France or Spain, from Louisiana, her myrmidons would pour to your assistance from Canada; and if the black nations from the Antilles were to undertake a buccaneering expedition from St. Domingo, how soon would his majesty's fleet, always ready on the North-east coasts of America, be able to give a good account of these marauders.

But the saving, which would accrue to the  
United

United States, in the event of a union with England, is a subject which above all others merits your attention; a subject too, to which true born Americans can never turn a deaf ear. I need not remind you of the immense sums your paltry navy has already cost you; a navy which would perish in two months, if Great Britain only frowned upon it. But she is merciful. She wishes to bring you to your senses, rather by common reason, time and patience, than by the *ultimo ratio regum*. Those great sums squandered upon a navy, might every farthing of them be saved; for the most shallow politician among you must know, that the British fleet is more than sufficient to protect the trade of both countries, and to annihilate any fleet in existence, or prevent the creation of one contemplated by any nation.—But, as this subject may be touched upon more at large in a future Rush-Light, I must for the present bid you adieu.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

*London, August 30, 1800.*

The first part of the book is devoted to a general  
 history of the world, from the beginning of  
 time to the present. The author discusses the  
 various stages of human civilization, from the  
 earliest times to the present day. He also  
 discusses the different religions and philosophies  
 of the world, and the progress of science and  
 art. The second part of the book is devoted to  
 a history of the British Empire, from the  
 reign of Queen Elizabeth I to the present day.  
 The author discusses the various wars and  
 conquests of the British Empire, and the  
 progress of the British colonies. The third part  
 of the book is devoted to a history of the  
 United States, from the time of the first  
 settlers to the present day. The author  
 discusses the various wars and revolutions of  
 the United States, and the progress of the  
 American people. The fourth part of the book  
 is devoted to a history of the French  
 Revolution, from the beginning to the present  
 day. The author discusses the various events  
 of the French Revolution, and the progress  
 of the French people. The fifth part of the  
 book is devoted to a history of the  
 Napoleonic Wars, from the beginning to the  
 present day. The author discusses the various  
 events of the Napoleonic Wars, and the  
 progress of the French people. The sixth part  
 of the book is devoted to a history of the  
 Restoration, from the beginning to the present  
 day. The author discusses the various events  
 of the Restoration, and the progress of the  
 French people. The seventh part of the book  
 is devoted to a history of the Revolution of  
 1830, from the beginning to the present day.  
 The author discusses the various events of the  
 Revolution of 1830, and the progress of the  
 French people. The eighth part of the book  
 is devoted to a history of the Revolution of  
 1848, from the beginning to the present day.  
 The author discusses the various events of the  
 Revolution of 1848, and the progress of the  
 French people. The ninth part of the book  
 is devoted to a history of the Revolution of  
 1871, from the beginning to the present day.  
 The author discusses the various events of the  
 Revolution of 1871, and the progress of the  
 French people. The tenth part of the book  
 is devoted to a history of the Revolution of  
 1890, from the beginning to the present day.  
 The author discusses the various events of the  
 Revolution of 1890, and the progress of the  
 French people.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REVOLUTION OF 1830

1830





vinced, without the aid of Cobbett: and they can now bear to hear truths which would have been grating to the American ear four years ago.

Without entering into the disagreeable task of recounting past follies, this Republican Taper will, as far as its feeble rays can be seen, endeavour to illuminate the future path of patriotic Americans.

No Nation, in so short a space of time, was ever so deceived and bewildered by false lights.—During the whole administration of John Adams, an *ignus fatuus* was continually leading the good citizens of this country from one delusion to another; and so well did the Old Gentleman play his part, that he appeared himself to be one of the deluded multitude, especially when he pretended, in the height of his infatuation, to see the finger of Heaven point to war!

O John! John! the people were certainly deluded; but you also were deceived in the people.—You had the weakness to believe, that Americans were ready to march under your banner, as the crusaders marched under the sign of the Cross, with Peter the Hermit; but you found yourself mistaken. Those who imagine they can rule by delusion in the nineteenth century of the Christian æra, when the art of printing has multiplied books, and consequently knowledge,  
are

are grievously mistaken. The Cobler has now as much knowledge as the Monk ; and a Robert Slender, mending shoes, could give a lesson on the art of government, to John Adams, President of the United States of America.

There is nothing *absolutely* perfect, but the Supreme Mind ; and yet every thing may be said to be perfect, that answers the end for which it was designed. A clock that keeps good time, is a perfect clock, though not a perfect machine ; and an honest and upright man is a perfect man, though not a perfect *being* ; so that although absolute perfection in government may not be attainable, it would be the extreme of folly to think that no farther improvement can possibly be made in that science ; and they are the greatest enemies of the human race, who attempt to dissuade men from making experiments, or disturb those who would peaceably instruct mankind.

## C H A P. II.

O! heaven-born PATIENCE, source of peace and rest,  
 Descend; infuse thy spirit through my breast,  
 That I may calmly meet the hour of fate,  
 My foes forgive, and triumph o'er their hate.  
 My body let their engines tear and grind,  
 But let not all their racks subdue my mind.

MALLET.

REPUBLICAN principles are acknowledged to be only in a state of probation. While men are trying experiments, it has a bad aspect, and shews they are not fit for the task they have undertaken, if they suffer themselves to get out of patience. Are Americans ready to cry out, in one unanimous acclamation, "It will not do;"—"we must have a king, after the manner of European nations." "We are tired of election and representation, as having produced nothing but rancorous party disputes?" No: but we are certain, that some impatient spirits, hot-headed and violent men, such as Fenno, Hamilton, Pickering, &c. who have not the patience to go through the tedious process of an experiment, and who would ring the bell half a dozen times while their punch is making, would, and do, make use of such language.

The

The great body of the American people are satisfied with the process, so far as it has gone; and are sensible that when any defect has appeared, it has pointed out its own remedy.

In every undertaking where the joint efforts of many are concerned, it is absolutely necessary, that every individual making an exertion should know the ultimate design and final end of his endeavours; in order that every man may give “ a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull altogether.”

Every system of government has its advantages and disadvantages: and any of them would, perhaps, answer the end of general happiness much better, if the Citizens were made acquainted, what that system is; or, in other words, what is the grand design of government, in all its movements. Every Patriot would exert himself to promote that end; and although there might be some contrariety of opinion, about trifles, there would never be those violent and tumultuous factions, which, by having different ends in view for the happiness of their country, bear against each other in opposite directions; distract the councils of a Nation; and betwixt them, no good can be done.

This system, of pursuing *one* end, is, what has made England flourish for the last century. Her statesmen have always had in view, the security of property, the greatest possible improvement

provement in agriculture, arts and commerce ; and, finally, that the few might have the means of living in idleness, upon the labours of the many. The wars which that nation has been engaged in—her navy—her foreign possessions—her debt—in short, all her enterprizes abroad, and laws at home, have been made with a view to that end. And, however her great men and statesmen may have differed about the means, yet they have all certainly agreed about the end ; till the commencement of the present war with France.

When the United Provinces rose to their meridian splendour, there was the same unanimity in their councils, respecting the end, or system to be pursued ; namely, an extension of commerce—and accordingly they succeeded : but as soon as two factions sprung up, one who wished to put the Republic under the protection of England, and the other under the influence of France ; then the public good was no longer regarded, and laws and regulations were made, not with a view to the public good, but by the prejudice and passion of party. Thus, commerce (the vitals of the republic), being disregarded by the rulers of the nation, fell into decay. It will be the same in England. Formerly the trifling party disputes betwixt the *ins* and *outs*, never retarded the great and principal pursuits of the nation : but the parties are now changed. It is no longer Pitt and Fox, but the Government and People : and as they pull in opposite directions,

we must expect to see England decline. But this is not the only cause of the declension of that nation.

Now, can any person tell? can the president himself, or any member of congress say, what is the system pursuing, or to be pursued, for the happiness of America?

By the desire some men have for a navy and armies of volunteers, one would imagine *their plan* was to form a monarchy; an extensive foreign commerce, and the acquisition of distant colonies; the navy to effect the one, and the army to accomplish the other. But these men are inconsistent, through ignorance; for they discourage the arts, without which no country can ever support an army, or be permanently commercial. To this it may be objected, that Holland and Venice are not, in an extensive degree, manufacturing nations, and yet carry on commerce, and have a navy. To which it may be answered, that the back countries behind those states abound in arts and manufactures; which is the same thing.

By the conduct of other great men in the United States, one would imagine that it was their design to make America have a great resemblance to Poland; where the great nobility possess all the land, and the real cultivator is poor and wretched. These are your land speculators, who were once for sending all the people

ple into the woods, to become serfs to the great lords; and who, like the angel who guarded Paradise, wave their flaming swords over the lands of America, lest any person should cultivate them for his own use, and live in freedom.

The English government, and the merchants from that country, settled here, have encouraged this idea; because in that case the Atlantic states would increase but little in population; and, *that*, principally in the sea-ports, and thereby become an easy prey (like Dantzick) to their old masters.

Again, by the discourse of Harper, and some other of the high-flyers, it might be supposed that this country ought to become a warlike nation, and fall forth, like the Greeks under Alexander, or the Romans under the Cæsars, and destroy the Spanish empire in South America; and, at once, extend the dominion of the Eagle to the Pacific Ocean and the Isthmus of Darien. Yet these men, equally inconsistent with those others, when they are spoken to concerning the introduction of the arts, say, That the country is too young for such great attempts. How! too young to make a garment, and old enough to overturn an established government! strange inconsistency.

But the greater number of the people, and the merchants especially, wish to make the  
country



country purely agricultural ; that the merchants may have the exclusive privilege of furnishing them with goods, and exporting their produce. They imagine there will always be a ready market for American produce abroad.

It is no wonder (if this be a true statement) that men coming to congress from distant parts of the union, with such a discordancy of opinions, respecting what is good for their country, should so disagree in fundamentals, as it is found they do.

It is the intention, therefore, of this Rush-Light, truly republican, to point out what, in the opinion of the author, is the true policy of America to pursue in her future conduct, both with respect to foreign nations and in her domestic concerns ; that every republican, throughout the wide extent of the Union, may cheerfully put his shoulder to the wheel ; and, by one grand effort, extricate our political machine out of the quagmire into which it has been involved, by the unskilfulness of its conductors.

In accomplishing this purpose, it is not intended to criminate, vilify, or calumniate any person, for their past conduct. If the constitution has been abused, we will say it was done through ignorance and folly. If innocent men have languished in jail, by the effects of the Sedition Law—if the national representation has been violated, in the persons of Lyon and

Randolph—if the insolence of a standing army has been intolerable to the citizens—or a poor fellow delivered over to British barbarity, for having done his duty—we shall consider all these things as errors of the head, and not of the heart. It is folly to repine, or be angry, when things cannot be recalled. Poor Jonathan Robbins cannot be brought to life again; nor can the unfortunate Mrs. Cooper, whose afflictions and death were brought on by grief, be restored to her family and friends.

Fear and an over-heated imagination will make many weak-minded men commit very cruel actions. Is it possible otherwise to account for the abominable barbarity exercised on Lyon, Holt, Callender, Cooper, &c. but in a phrensy of the brain, a disease of the mind, which, continually, pictured to the disturbed imagination, nothing but murder and assassination, as often as the word republican or Jacobin was pronounced? It was out of the power of these maniacs to prevent this association of ideas; and they ought to be the objects of our pity and compassion, rather than of our vengeance; especially as very few have been murdered by their folly. Many, you will say, have been ruined in their fortunes. Granted: but this evil is to be recovered, if we only know how to do justice, and respect ourselves. We have the consolation of having done our duty; of having stood forward, defenders of justice, truth, and right, in perilous times,  
when

when right, truth, and justice were banished from the land; and we have gloriously triumphed. They have the mortification to look back only on their own folly and madness, and forward to the contempt and disapprobation of every good man.

Will thirteen senators, who would sell their country for a mess of pottage, enjoy the repast, amidst the execrations of their fellow-citizens? or will it be impossible, under a virtuous administration, to make those speculators, Dayton, Pickering, and an infinite number of small fry, deliver up their fraudulently held balances to the treasury, and thereby prevent the necessity for loans at eight per cent.? If we can only pursue wise and sober measures in future, and redeem the past mispent time, it is enough. It would only shew a spirit of malice, inconsistent with the moderation of republicanism, to be for ever venting our spleen against our undoers; although they have brought us to the verge of destruction, and it is evident that we have only escaped through our own mighty exertions. If they can be driven from their terrestrial Paradise, and disabled from any more stabbing and undermining the Republic, we ought to be satisfied. Could this be accomplished (and we will certainly soon have it in our power), I would not, as far as my suffrage goes, confine one of the villains in jail; no, not for a single day—nor even put them in fear of the terrible sound of

a marshal's voice. I wish to furnish demonstrative evidence of the superiority of republican virtue over aristocratic violence.—Not that I would have these men retained in their places, of which they have shewn themselves unworthy: certainly, I would have the Augean stable swept perfectly clean; not a particle of filth would I suffer to remain:—not a corner for the vermin to breed in, afresh; but my resentment would end there. It would give me no pleasure to pursue John Adams to an ostracism; nor to prosecute Hamilton and Fenno upon the Sedition Act; let them retire, in the name of God, merciful and gracious, to the shades of private life.

“ The brave only know how to forgive ;  
 “ it is the most refined and generous pitch of  
 “ virtue human nature can arrive at. Cowards  
 “ have done good and kind actions ; cowards  
 “ have even fought, nay, sometimes, even  
 “ conquered ; but a coward never for-  
 “ gave. It is not in his nature ; the power  
 “ of doing it, flows only from a strength and  
 “ greatness of soul, conscious of its own force  
 “ and security, and above the little tempta-  
 “ tions of resenting every fruitless attempt to  
 “ interrupt its happiness.”

But in the moment that we forgive those men  
 —who have brought disgrace upon our country,  
 who have made the very name of republican  
 disreputable—we ought to endeavour to re-  
 move

move some of the prejudices which they have created ; and which, if not counteracted, may do more mischief than even they themselves have done.

They have told us, and too many Americans have believed it, That in the event of the election of Mr. Jefferson, we should have a war with England. But I will undertake not only to shew that we shall have no war with England, but also, that America has nothing to fear, under a wise administration, from any foreign nation whatever.

When nations lie contiguous, and whose boundaries, as it were, run into each other, or are only separated by a small river, or an imaginary line, running over the tops of mountains—when the peace of nations rests upon the caprice of a weak-headed king or emperor, then there may be a great cause of apprehending war. “ Sometimes one foolish prince  
 “ quarreleth with another, for fear the other  
 “ should quarrel with him. Sometimes these  
 “ loggerheads lead on their subjects to war,  
 “ because the enemy is too strong ; and some-  
 “ times because he is too weak. Alliance, by  
 “ blood or marriage, is a frequent cause of  
 “ war between princes ; and the nearer the  
 “ kindred is, the greater their disposition to  
 “ quarrel.” But these causes of war cannot hold good in this country. We have no alliance, by blood or marriage, with any of the  
 princes.

princes of Europe ; and it cannot possibly be the interest of any of them to invade us, if it were in their power.

The English government are too well convinced of the enormous expence of carrying on a war against America, ever, seriously, to attempt it. They cannot, with all their fleets, make an impression upon the continent of Europe, which lies within half a day's sail of their own shores. How often have they been repulsed from the coasts of France and Holland? and yet we are to be persuaded that they might be successful at the distance of three thousand miles ; after their soldiers are enfeebled and emaciated by a long sea voyage. No:—there is not a single European power, who is mad enough to think seriously, for one moment, of invading America. They have neither men nor money to spare for such a Quixotic expedition ; nor can their judgment, their reason, or their interest, ever dictate such a foolish project. But they may harass our trade, at sea.—Yes : and they will do so, as long as they are waging war against each other in Europe, and in the colonies : but when peace shall be restored to those distracted countries, our trade will stand upon the same footing as that of other nations ; if we were even to have no treaty with any foreign power. During an European war, we shall be plundered at sea ; and, in peace, we shall be free to plough the ocean, in spite of treaties.

But

But it may be said, that the Canadians may be infligated, and the back Indians excited, by British gold, to make predatory incursions upon our North or North-western settlements: or the Spaniards, and Indians (spurred on by Spaniards) may make irruptions from the South and South-west. What reasonable grounds can there be for such a supposition? Is it reasonable to think, that the Spaniards will be so blind to their own interest, as to fall out with America, from which she will draw such an immense source of riches? Does not every one know that New Orleans will become the grand emporium of trade for all the inhabitants upon the western waters, and that our trans-mountain citizens must seek there a vent for their superabundant produce? This reciprocity of good offices, may produce peace and friendship, but never ought to give any apprehension of war, except we desire it on our own part, or are led into it by the imprudence of our own administration.

It cannot, in any degree, impair the happiness of our western citizens, or check the exertions of their genius, that the port, which opens their country to the sea, should belong to another nation. After agriculture, no place in the world is evidently destined by nature to become the seat of the arts, so much as Kentucky and the Western Territory; and the manufactures, the produce of these arts, will find their way into the Spanish dominions sooner,

er, by New Orleans belonging to a foreign nation, than if it belonged to America. Let, therefore, our western brethren attend to manufactories, where provisions will be cheap, the price of manual labour moderate, and where there are abundance of raw materials, of all sorts. And this is as far as their monied capital will allow them to go.

And let Spaniards, Frenchmen, or adventurers of any nation, carry their capitals to New Orleans, to purchase the manufactures of the western country, with ready money.

As for the Canadians, on our northern frontier, they are so much inclined to peace, that George and Pitt could not stir them to war, by any conditions; and we are now so well acquainted with the temper of the Indian tribes, as to know that it will be our own fault if they should be unfriendly.

Whenever, therefore, People of America, your constituted authorities cry out, WAR, WAR, be assured they have some deep, knavish design under this cry. Your pockets or your liberties are in danger. Seek no other proof of their enmity to the Republic; of their despite to the laws of God, and of their unsuitness for the high stations in which you have inadvertently placed them. Take the first constitutional opportunity of dismissing them, and choose men who are the advocates of peace;

for



for it is in peace only, that you can expect to flourish.

Oh! stretch thy reign, fair PEACE, from shore to shore,  
 Let conquest cease, and slav'ry be no more!  
 And the freed Indians, in their native groves,  
 Reap their own fruits and woo their sable loves.  
 Exil'd by thee from earth, to deepest hell,  
 In brazen bonds shall barb'rous DISCORD dwell:  
 Gigantic PRIDE, pale TERROR, gloomy CARE,  
 And mad AMBITION shall attend her there.  
 There purple VENGEANCE, bath'd in gore, retires,  
 Her weapons blunted, and extinct her fires.  
 There hateful ENVY her own snakes shall feel,  
 And PERSECUTION mourn her broken wheel:  
 There FACTION roar, OPPRESSION bite her chain,  
 And gasping tyrants thirst for blood in vain.



### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the Means of Defence.*

**BUT**, my fellow-citizens, if your prejudices are not yet overcome; if you still think that war may be the lot of America, in spite of the wisdom of those who govern her councils, in spite of the universal desire, from Maine to

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D

Georgia,

Georgia, for peace, and although you are convinced it is not the interest, yet as it might be reconciled with the folly of England, France, or Spain, to invade us, I will, therefore, proceed to speak of the proper measures of defence.

Whatever is possible, may arrive; and I agree that we ought to provide against *possible*, as well as probable, contingencies. It is therefore not disputed, but that we should put ourselves in a posture of defence. But how we are to assume that formidable attitude, is now the question. Aristocracy will say, By a standing army, commanded, and officered, by the well-born:—and John Adams may recommend, that “*cheap* defence of nations,” a navy! but neither of these can ever be contemplated by the Republican Rush-Light; nor one ray issue from our taper, to present in a favourable point of view either of these modes of defence, beyond a very small degree. “Overgrown military establishments, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty; and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty.” So said the illustrious Washington.

The defence therefore that we shall recommend, consists of two parts. 1st, a well organized militia; and, 2d, a judicious regulation of the duties on imports. We shall touch a little on each of these topics; and first of a militia.

“ A well

“ A well regulated militia is the proper, natural and safe defence of a free government.”

*Constitution of Delaware.*

“ The militia of this country, must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility. It is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole ; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform ; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.”

*Washington.*

A militia, taken in the most extensive signification, means the whole of the citizens in arms, or in battle array. But as no possible case can ever require every individual citizen to march out to battle, there can be no military organization of the militia, until every foldier is made acquainted with his *tour* of duty. Every petty officer knows, every corporal entrusted with the command of twelve men, perfectly understands that he must number his men, from unity upwards, that they may know their succession of duty. Can there

be any thing more unmilitary, or which would shew a total disregard of discipline, than for the commanding officer of an army, who had an intention of sending off a detachment, to enquire for volunteers? Where there is perfect discipline, proper organization in a military style, every brigade, regiment, company, platoon, and individual, ought to have their tour of duty marked out by certain rules; and if this regularity is necessary in sections, great or small, of an army, how can they be dispensed with in organizing the whole nation?—Let me know whether I am to be called on, first, second, third, or fourth, in case of an invasion or insurrection, and I will arrange my affairs accordingly. Let me know whether my age or my youth, whether a life of celibacy or matrimony, subjects me to the first call; whether the circumstance of residence, my riches or poverty, or what else exempts me altogether, or brings me into the first ranks of the defenders of my country.

If these matters are not previously arranged, who will consent to regulations formed at the moment of invasion? If, by such a regulation, I am unexpectedly required to abandon my family and home, and should perceive some injustice or partiality in the requisition, and consequently refuse my consent, with what grace can the exempts force me to march to a duty equally incumbent upon themselves? Some of the best disciplinarians in America are well aware

aware of the necessity of such an organization of the citizens in militia : but they are the advocates of a volunteer army. An army of men who are willing to be converted into machines ; to kill or be killed, to get a living. These men, though I give them credit for their knowledge of military affairs, must be reprobated, as they are paving the way for the annihilation of liberty. A volunteer army, receiving pay, and the freedom of a nation, are incompatible with each other. Nay, I detest volunteering, in any shape whatever, with or without pay ; as a principle militating against the republican institution of election and representation. However, until the citizens in militia shall be perfectly organized, until it shall be known to every man what is the tour of his duty ; and until the volunteers *in pay* be totally disbanded, let the republican volunteers, *out of pay*, hold their arms, as a security that these things shall be accomplished.

The friends of Despotism, and of its right arm, a volunteer mercenary army, wish to have it believed that it is impracticable to organize the citizens into an effective militia ; and that no possible conjunction of the civil and military state can be adequate to the defence of a nation ; but let us not be deceived. It might, indeed, be difficult so to organize a militia, properly so called, as to answer every purpose for which volunteer mercenaries are adapted. They would not so readily overturn the liberties

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ties of their country ; but as a defence against foreign invasion or insurrection, their construction must be very defective indeed, if they did not repel an enemy with much more certainty and effect.

These friends of Despotism are always willing to leave the militia in an imperfect state, or to make its duties irksome to the citizens, that its disadvantages may be continually apparent ; and the necessity of a regular army made obvious.

There is nothing that requires the watchful and jealous eye of Republicanism more than this arrangement of the citizens into soldiers, for the defence of the state ; and it is much to be desired, that the subject should be taken up, and treated of dispassionately, by some of our good republican military writers.



#### C H A P. IV.

*On Imposts as a Mean of Defence ; and the true Republican System of Taxation.*

I SHALL now proceed to examine the second branch of the system of defence, namely, the duties on the importation of foreign goods, commonly called the imposts.

Mr.

Mr. Burke has said, "Taxation is an easy business. Any projector can contrive new impositions: any bungler can add to the old." If the statesman has no other object than raising a sum of money, taxation would, certainly, be a very easy business: but we intend to shew, *that revenue ought only to be a secondary object with the statesman, in imposing duties on importation; and that DEFENCE against aggression, and protection to the citizens, should be the primary consideration.* If a revenue can be obtained from it—good. It is like killing two birds with one stone. But a government which depends upon the imposts, as the principal source of its revenue, must feel itself extremely weak in any contention that may arise with foreign nations. Any interruption of trade, with a foreign power, will produce a defalcation of the revenue; at a period too when, instead of its being diminished, it ought to be increased; for every contention with foreign nations causes an additional expense to a country.

If revenue were *not* the primary object of the imposts, we could say to any hostile nation, "We will lay a duty, amounting to a prohibition, upon the importation of your goods, if you do not immediately cease your aggressions, and make us reparation; *this* will be infinitely more injurious to *you*, than all the benefits arising from the spoliations on *our* commerce. We can either purchase such goods  
from

another country, or employ our citizens in their fabrication; or, finally, submit to a total privation, rather than bear your insults with impunity.’’

If the rulers of an hostile nation could not be brought to reason by such language, their talents would be so much below mediocrity, that we need not fear but we should beat them in the field.

But if the fear of injuring our own revenue, should prevent us from using that manly language, *and the enemy should know it*, will it not make them much more audacious, insolent, and hostile? and have not the British confirmed already the force of my reasoning?

For want of this control over the imposts, we have been prevented from giving a vital stab to a hostile nation, in the encouragement of the emigration of her best artists. We durst not, for fear of injuring our revenue, protect them by duties, in the first establishment of expensive arts. We were afraid even to retaliate upon that hostile nation, by laying equal duties upon equal things. We have suffered the hat-making business to decline, because we durst not lay the same duty on English hats that England does on American ones, for fear of a defalcation of the revenue: that being the primary object, which I insist ought not to be the case. Has nature intended England to be a hat-



hat-making country?—England; who has no fur, but that of a few rabbits; or America, which abounds with fur of every kind, and of the best qualities? And shall we despise the gifts of nature; throw away our fur trade; and all, because the caterpillars of the nation have nothing to feed on but twelve per cent, *ad valorem* on foreign goods?

As the citizens of a free country must subscribe, according to their abilities, to the exigencies of government, it only remains to be enquired, in what manner they shall do it, with the least injury to themselves, and the greatest advantage to the state. If it be disadvantageous to depend on the imposts, for a *permanent revenue*; if it has been proved that it robs us of one of our best measures of defence; and prevents government from being able to protect the manufacturing citizens; it is evident, that we ought to look to other means of revenue, and leave to the imposts the full force of defence and protection, as far as the system is capable of being applied to that end.

At the same time, I have no doubt, but the imposts, under the management which I recommend, would be fully as productive as they are at present. Some articles would produce a great deal more, and others much less, so that betwixt one thing and another, the revenue from that source would remain much as it is. Great Britain draws a great portion of

her supplies from the imposts; but it is well known, that she never suffers the object of revenue to stand in the way of defence or protection. The manufactures of Great Britain are protected by extraordinary duties, even upon goods manufactured in their governments in India, and yet we constantly hear of an annual encrease from that branch of revenue.

Direct taxation is certainly the only proper republican mode of raising a revenue.—The citizens are, in that way, best informed of what they are paying, without any deception. A greater proportion of the sum payed goes at once into the treasury; and the citizens have only to enquire, once a year, whether their money has been honestly expended. Every other mode is like stealing the money out of your pockets. Despotic governments do not tell the people how much they must pay; they, therefore, have contrived, to make a poor man pay something to the government every time he puts his hand into his pocket.—They have long incapacitated the working class of people from saving so much as a dollar to pay in a direct manner: they, therefore, make him pay double in the purchase of the necessaries of life—when he buys a pound of soap he pays two pence to government, a pound of candles two pence, a quart of beer two pence, and a pound of salt two pence. If he purchase a hat two shillings, a pair of shoes two shillings, and so of every article that can be mentioned;  
and

and this money, stolen from the people, goes in such a circuitous route to the treasury, that not much more than one half, actually paid, ever finds its way thither.

A tax upon licenses is a most abominable tax. Why should one man pay for the exercise of his calling, more than another? If a man's occupation tends to immorality, it ought to be suppressed altogether. But a tavern keeper of all others ought not to pay any *additional* tax. If it were possible, he ought to receive some compensation from the state, to enable him to be hospitable and kind to strangers, and way-faring men: that a stranger, the moment he comes to sojourn among us, should not be liable to any more extortion than the settled citizen. Why should I be obliged to pay four times as much for a dinner at a tavern, when I am pursuing my lawful occupation, on a journey, as when I am at home with my family, but that the tavern-keeper by an improper policy, is loaded with heavy rents and additional taxes?

But if licenses were delivered to every one demanding them, the evil would not be so great; at present, these licenses operate as a kind of monopoly; and prevent the free exercise of talents, and that competition which is so beneficial to society at large.

In Mahometan countries, inns, or (as they are called) caravanferas, are erected by the

state, for the accommodation of travellers on the road. Among the Turks it has been considered that men must sometimes travel, and, on the journey, want accommodation; but, in Christian countries, man has been only considered as a vegetable, and he becomes the subject of double taxation the moment he assumes so much animation as to change his place.

Licenses are a tax on the sociability of man. If I stay at home and get drunk I am only charged the ordinary taxes, but when I become a social being, and seek for company at the tavern, I must submit to double taxation.

There is a certain degree in which I am friendly to stamp duties, they might be resorted to sometimes, upon extraordinary occasions, and for particular purposes, and dropt when the exigencies which occasioned them ceased to exist. But of all species of taxation for the support of lawful and honest government, I certainly, must repeat, that a direct levy in proportion to property is the best, and most consonant to republican principles; as, indirect subsidies are the fittest to support a monarchy. This truth is well known in the councils of Toussaint, who has lately changed the direct tax for an indirect one; well knowing that the indirect mode is best suited to the principles and support of despotism.

Whilst I speak in praise of public contribu-  
tions

tions by a direct assessment, when the burden is proportioned in such a manner as that one man shall not feel more of it than another, yet I feel no ways inclined to advocate *the* direct tax now levying in the United States, which bears all the marks of that folly, ignorance and corruption for which the administration, from whence it originated were so conspicuous.

It will be one of the greatest misfortunes in the federal system, if not guarded against in time, that the people may be overwhelmed with an host of tax-gatherers. On one day, the municipal collector comes round for his water, lamp, street and pump taxes for the use of the city; next day, perhaps, you are assailed by the state collector; and, on the third, before your purse has recovered from the drain made by these suckers, you are called on by the United States collector. Supposing the money was absolutely wanted, equitably levied, and judiciously expended, it must be a hardship in itself, and very oppressive, that the people should pay three or four collectors where one might very well answer the purpose. By this means an ignorant man will never know when he has done paying, or know on whom to fix the greatest degree of rapacity.

Either the legislators who framed the direct tax were ignorant of this increasing evil; or they saw it, but corruptly intended to fence round the government; and render it independent

pendent of the people, by creating posts and places for their friends; for otherwise, they must have seen, that the burden upon the people would be infinitely less, and the business equally well done, by the state collectors, for a very small advance.

As the federalisation of republican states, will, it is hoped, one day take place of treaties and laws of nations among kings; republicans ought seriously to guard against that evil which I have mentioned above, namely, the multiplication of tax-gatherers, which seems to grow out of the federal plan of government—a plan, which if well managed, would be equal to the government of the Globe itself, and bring about that happy millenium when the sons and daughters of men shall be all children of one family, and the sound of war be heard no more. But if the fostering, and nursing up of the federal system, were left to such men as we have seen unfortunately blundering, and intoxicated at the helm, for the last four years, the human race would be thrown back into the dark ages of ignorance and superstition; and the Americans on the Atlantic shores would hasten to resemble the savages on the Pacific Ocean. If such men were suffered to continue to rule, could it be long expected that the people of New-Hampshire and Georgia would call each other compatriots, or speak the same language? no, the plough that now gives peace would yield to the tomahawk, or murdering gun.—

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Let those, therefore, who can see the harmony of federalizing nations, be on the watch to prevent the introduction of any thing which may destroy it. And nothing more, my dear countrymen, requires your vigilant attention, than a too complex system of taxation; creating a multitude of officers and inferior dependants, all firmly united to the government, whatever character it may assume, but careless about the happiness of the people, and hostile to their rights. Such is one of the abominable features of this direct tax.

Another, equally horrid, and which demonstrates the negligence, incapacity or want of honesty in its framers, is the inequality of its bearance on the different states. But it will always be the case, when legislators make laws to serve a particular purpose, or to forward a favourite measure, that these laws will be very defective in the details; create great uneasiness among the people upon whom they operate; and, frequently, require amendment; and, perhaps, though the spirit of the law may be good, must be totally repealed. How often must legislators be told, even by their constituents, who are supposed not to have so much knowledge as themselves, that they should never suffer passion to guide them; but that the grand principle of eternal justice, and the good of mankind, should be their only rule.

The federalists, as they improperly and  
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usurpingly stile themselves, after having been adverse to a direct land tax, proposed in 1795 by republicans, upon republican principles, and properly digested; which had no other object in view but the tranquility and happiness of the people, bring forward *their* land tax, at a time when the passions of the American people were roused by foreign depredations; in order to fill their own pockets and be enabled to carry their favourite measures, viz. an increase of power to the government, and humiliation of the people.

This is the reason that the land tax, though in its spirit truly republican, has become so obnoxious. The spirit of a free people must be roused, when they see their country filled with tax-gatherers, taking the dimensions of every man's property, and assuming over him those high airs which republicans can never brook. Their indignation must be excited when they know that the distribution of this tax among the states is far from being equitable or just, according to the population and riches of the states respectively.

When the republicans proposed a direct land tax in 95 it was not with an intention of raising additional revenue, but in order to relieve the customs from those shackles by which they are now bound—to enable them to be used as a measure of defence against foreign depredations at all times. It was *then* opposed by the monarchists,



monarchists, and soi-disant federalists; and, they were willing that the right arm of America should be tied up, rather than we should wound the feelings of our dear mother country.

But when it was resolved, by a junto who forced themselves into the councils of J. Adams, and who have no more personal friendship for him than I have, that a bold stroke should be made, to annihilate the state governments; to form the United States into a government one and indivisible; to raise up certain families into rank and dignity, and exclude the mass of the people, the industrious farmer, artizan and merchant from every share in the government, either as electors or representatives; then, in order to carry this grand project into execution, a friendship must be maintained with those foreign powers who should be favourable to it, such as England, and all the monarchies. A regular army of volunteers must also be at command: and above all, money must be raised for this important object. To draw money from the pockets of a free people there must be some pretence. The old state trick, which that miserable and crazy government of England has so often played, was therefore resorted to, viz. a quarrel with a neighbouring power to give occasion for additional taxation.—France, as every one knows, was the nation that was chosen for this purpose. The Chinese perhaps, might have done as well; a rumour might have been spread

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that they had fitted out a great armament; were bending their course across the Pacific Ocean; about to land on the west coast of America; and, penetrating through the woods, would, in a short time, appear on our western frontier. This is an event far from being impossible, and therefore might have been believed: but a quarrel with France answered a double purpose, that of raising money and rendering obnoxious republican principles which were intended to be overthrown.

Under such a spirit, and with such views, it was not possible for legislators to make laws that would meet the approbation of reflecting men, or have any permanent duration.

The conclusion is, that the direct tax ought to be certainly continued, but the provisions of the law ought to be revised, as soon as honest men can be found for that purpose, and rendered less burdensome and oppressive.

The future statesmen of America, will, then, have complete power over the imposts, to use that political engine either as a defence against foreign aggression or as a bulwark to protect American manufacturers.

There is no event so desirable to the lovers of mankind, than that there should be a free trade betwixt all nations, and that merchants should be considered as citizens of the world  
and

and be allowed to pass and repass to every nation, without paying higher duties than would be necessary to defray the expense of light houses, harbours, quays, &c. In that case, the most honest and industrious nation would always have the preference. But as this cannot be done but by an universal federalization of states; and the Gothic system of treaties being totally abolished, an event not likely to happen for many years; we should make it a rule to treat other nations exactly as they treat us. If with liberality, than we ought to be liberal, if they restrain our trade we should restrain theirs; every other rule would be an injustice to our own citizens.

If another nation produces something which we want, but cannot produce, we should permit it to enter our ports on paying a very small duty.

But, if we can grow or manufacture the same kind of goods with another nation, if that nation prohibits the importation of ours, so should we prohibit the importation of theirs. If this be not done, a despotic country will always have the advantage over a free republic; and, in time, bring it into the same condition with itself, (poverty and degradation); because under a despotism, men are obliged to labour incessantly for a bare existence; and, by that means, would undersell the citizens of a free republic in their own markets, if suf-

ferred to compete with them. This system, if pursued for any length of time, would necessarily bring on poverty, the forerunner of slavery.

Thus, you see, it is the folly of mankind, or rather of those who presume, without abilities, to rule them, that have brought about the decadence of republics; and that it is by no means the order of nature, as some unthinking, weak-minded men would make us believe.

If the citizens of a republic, have necessarily higher wages than the slaves of despotism, are they not thereby enabled to pay higher for the necessaries of life?

If an American carpenter can earn one dollar a day, and a Scots carpenter a shilling, is not the one as able to purchase a hat from his fellow-citizen at four dollars, as the poor Scots slave, can afford to buy his felt hat, at four shillings. Thus, freedom is the base of the manufacturing column, as well as the commercial Corinthian capital which overtops it; because the consumption is much greater where liberty reigns. A poor Welshman, must wear his five shilling felt hat for five years, while the independent citizen of a well organized republic, can afford to have a good rorum, or beaver once a year.

Now,

Now, in order to shew at one view, that our manufacturing citizens are greatly discouraged, and not put upon a footing with those of other nations, I shall give a list of the principal manufacturies that are already as well established in this, as in any country on the earth; and then, exhibit the difference betwixt their being imported into England, and the same kind of goods when brought into this country, the manufacture of England.

By the statute 3 Edward, 4. c. 4. the importation of the following goods, which we manufacture as well as the English, are totally prohibited:

Saddles—andirons—gloves—things wrought of tawed leather—shoes—playing cards—hats—cards for wool—and generally all kind of goods wrought by joiners, painters, card-makers, weavers, horners, bottlemakers, or copper-smiths; and the duties on starch, hair-powder, parchment, paper, soap, spirits, and refined sugar, are so great, as to amount to a prohibition; whilst they are all admitted into this country on paying the following low duties, to the great injury of the citizens who have been at the expence of establishing these works, or spent their youth in an apprenticeship.

Goods

Goods either prohibited in England, or which pay so high duties as amount to a prohibition; and which are admitted into America, upon paying the following low duties.

Saddles,	-	-	10 per cent.
Gloves,	-	-	15
Shoes,	-	-	15
Tanned and tawed leather,			15
Playing cards,	-	-	25 cents per pack.
Combs,	-	-	15 per cent.
Hats,	-	-	15
Bottles,	-	-	10
Copper manufactures,			15
Stockings,	-	-	15
Starch,	-	-	15
Pasteboard parchment,			10
Hair powder	-		15



#### C H A P. IV.

**A** NATION that is increasing in population ought also to increase in riches, in the same proportion, or what must become of the next generation, whose numbers have, perhaps, been doubled,

doubled, without doubling the real, and personal property. If, in twenty-five years, America shall be able to double her population, without also doubling the value of her property, she must become poorer, every year; and a consequence of that poverty, would be a check on population. Wealth will produce a numerous population, either by emigration or procreation, but population does not always suppose a proportional progressive increase of wealth, without good laws tending to multiply riches.

Nations, like individuals, acquire wealth only by a well directed industry, suited to the situation and relative condition of the respective countries. It is fit for some states to direct their attention to commerce, as the Venetians, and the Dutch; their territory being small, having an easy communication with the sea, and an industrious, agricultural, and manufacturing people lying behind them, in the inland country. It is proper that other states, having a mountainous inland territory, should apply themselves to agriculture and the useful arts; whilst other nations, as England and France, may unite in themselves all the three great branches of human industry; agriculture, the arts and commerce.

It is without doubt, that the United States of America, is so happily situated upon the Globe, that she may some time, excel in them all; at present,

present, she ought to beware of beginning at the wrong end.

Taking things upon a great scale, (as America must be considered), a rude state of agriculture must precede the useful arts; and both must take the lead of commerce. If, in any nation this order of things should be inverted, it is contrary to nature, and cannot be permanent. The question, therefore, that I would propose to every American, is, Whether it is proper to begin with being carriers to the world, with a view of encouraging agriculture, or begin with agriculture, and afterwards to move on step, by step, according to the order of nature, and finish in having a well cultivated country; good roads, canals, navigable rivers; the arts, even the fine arts, in a high state of perfection; and, finally, the ocean covered with her ships? or, in other words, whether the growing capital, the savings of industry, should be separated from the increasing population, sending the one into the woods and the other to the sea; the one East, and the other West. The aristo-federalists, during their long, disastrous reign of twelve years, have yoked a horse to each end of the cart, and whipped and spurred them on, in opposite directions, tearing the nation asunder and putting her to the rack, by sending the population one way, and the riches another.

But how could it be supposed that such men



as John Adams, and his New-England junto, could know the grand art of directing the national stream of wealth; an art, only known to the accomplished statesman, to which title these men can have no pretensions: their sordid, and base passions may, indeed, teach them to direct the people's money into their own pockets: but, such is the imbecility of their intellects, that they have not the power, (if they had the will), to point out the path by which the nation may be led to wealth and prosperity.

You weak, purblind, insignificant wretches, can you not perceive that the interior of your country wants improvement; that an hundred millions of dollars ought to be expended to make decent roads only; that the whole monied capital of the United States, is by far too little for the purposes of internal improvement; and that the increase of population, must necessarily, tend to keep up a deficiency of that capital. If you had been wise, you would have taken measures diametrically opposite to those you have done: instead of encouraging monied men to risk their capitals on the ocean; and, afterwards, making the farmers pay dear for protecting that property, on an uncertain element, a prey to buccaneering nations; you should have made it profitable for men of wealth to employ it in creating farms, with orchards and cornfields in the wilderness, safe from the barbarous Algerines, or the more savage navy of England.

The same means that were taken to give an additional impulse to commercial riches, in the establishment of banks, if used to promote agriculture, and the arts, would have pushed the nation forward to a state of prosperity unexampled in any age.

If banks of deposit and mortgage, had been established in the country, as well as in the seaports, to employ the surplus monied capital of the nation, another face of things would have been seen at this day. We should never have had to complain, first, of the spoliations of Great Britain, or *now*, be ashamed of being a dupe to her base promises of remuneration. We should have had no quarrel with, or the imputation of ingratitude to, our old friends; and the millions your folly has cost us, would be *now* in the pockets of the people. But, the single fact of your humiliating and disgraceful transactions with the barbarous powers of the Mediterranean, is sufficient to demonstrate your incapacity for the first offices of government.

I should be glad to know, what curious kind of political arithmetick you made use of, to know, that it was for the good of America, that her ships should pass the Straights of Gibraltar? and, above all, how you can make it appear, that the profits of the whole Mediterranean trade, will pay the expense of the Algerine treaty, and other treaties with barbarians

barians three thousand miles from your coast.

In my opinion, the happiness, prosperity and independence of America, does not depend upon her citizens passing the pillars of Hercules; and, that we ought not to give one cent for the privilege: and you, worthless administrators! you could have no reason for paying such an enormous tribute to these barbarians, if it were not to draw the riches of the nation from the West, to send it to the East, contrary to that sound principle of American policy, That the riches, as far as it is in the power of government to direct, should be made to move in a western direction; among our industrious, enterprising citizens on the frontier; for it is better to subsidize every tribe of Indians in America, from Lake Superior, to the bay of Mexico, rather than give a dollar to the Algerines. It is more profitable to lay out 10,000 dollars, in the *cultivation* of back lands, than 100,000 risked upon the Ocean. Individuals are tempted by the prospect of immediate gain; nations should look forward to a permanent and substantial inheritance. But, even present advantages are not so great as some men would have us to believe. This is a truth, which has been at all times clear to my understanding, though very difficult to demonstrate. At present, immediately after the failure of such a man as Blight, the assertion may be fairly hazarded, and left without any other proof than that fact, to support it.

If some of the proprietors about Meade's Ville, had employed their capitals in the West, on *terra firma*, in preference to the East, among perfidious enemies, and on the boisterous main, their figure, character and rank in society, would have been far different to what it is at present.

The conduct of these men, and many others who have trode in the same path, is an illustration of the folly of the aristo-federalists, and ought to be a warning to a republican federal administration to avoid similar evils.

Since then, the aristo-federalists, during their shameful administration, have brought the nation only to disgrace abroad, and taxation at home, without accomplishing one good purpose; it is to be hoped, the Republican federalists, who have constantly opposed them, will, when they come into power, make a better use of it than they have done. It is to be hoped, that they will divert the stream of riches more to the West, by encouraging useful arts for home consumption; that they will do for the nation, what every industrious farmer pursues in his domestic economy; make the family appear in homespun stuff.

When a man only considers, for a moment, the immense territory lying uncultivated; and the prodigious increase of population, which yearly takes place; it must strike him, that a  
capital

capital proportioned to that increase, should be provided to procure accommodation for the rising generation, and the influx of strangers; and, that these matters, should be the first objects of government. And, on a second reflection, shall we not be equally surprized, that these aristo-federalists not only have neglected that important duty, but have made their ignorance apparent, by seeming not to understand it; they have not only, I say, forborne to put the nation in the road to prosperity, but they have stood, like the angel before Balaam and his ass, to prevent its progress; and the nation, as blind as Balaam, has not been able to see what opposed its happiness. At last, happily, our eyes are opened, and we are sorry, like Balaam, for the beating we have given the republicans, who have been always friends to America, ever since they have been the ass, upon which the people have ridden unto this day.



C H A P. V.

AMONG the variety of things, which produce happiness or misery, prosperity or adversity, to a nation; not one is of so much importance, or so little understood, as the flux and  
reflux,

reflux, the plenty or scarcity, of money. It is not intended, in a work like the *Rush-Light*, to write an elementary treatise, on the circulating medium: but, while our rulers shew their extreme ignorance of that political organ, it cannot be deemed improper to throw out a few hints, as a kind of primary impulse, which may, perhaps, induce men of brighter talents, more leisure, and better means of information, to pursue the enquiry.

This kind of political knowledge, is the more necessary at present, as it will assist in counteracting that poison, which, with diabolical assiduity, has been administered by the federalists, to the good people of America. They have been told; that, under the administration of Jefferson, the National debt would be extinguished, in order to excite the fears of those who live upon the interest; and, some silly republicans, have been weak enough to believe this villainous insinuation; though not one federalist who propagated it, ever entertained such a belief, for a moment. But to throw out Jefferson, and keep themselves in power, they will go any lengths; and, when their offices are no longer tenable; when they find they must be driven from their fortresses by the impressive and commanding voice of a great people, they will imitate the base, cowardly and treacherous conduct of the English, at Toulon; for, amongst them it will not be difficult to find many men of as base a cast as sir Sydney Smith,

Smith, who will bear the torch of destruction, while the other villains sneer off with their booty, by the light of the conflagration. Happily, the constitution is incombustible. Its depository, the hearts of the American people, is fire proof.

An extinguishment of the national debt, would, certainly, be a very desirable thing; but there can be no necessity for doing it in any other manner, than by the rules of justice and equity. Will the holders of public stock be in greater jeopardy, under a peaceable and economical administration, than under a turbulent, restless and expensive one, such as we have experienced for the last four years? If the price of stock, should fall during the administration of Mr. Jefferson, it will be, because a new field will then be opened for the employment of capital: monied men will find it more profitable to employ their riches in adorning the face of the country, and in establishing useful arts, than lending it to the nation at six per cent. If the price of stock has been considered in England as the political barometer which points out national prosperity or deterioration, we must not think, it will be the same here, unless we alter the scale; or, perhaps, reverse it. When stocks rise, in time of peace in England, it shews that the rich have wrung more and more from the industry of the poor; more than they know well what to do with; and, therefore, they place it in the  
funds

funds at a small interest. But, in this country; if the arts shall be encouraged by a wise administration, it must be a long time before that period arrives, when monied men will be at a loss how to dispose of their capital. Therefore, if stocks rise, it will be a sign of deterioration; and their fall, a proof of the wisdom of government. This is only mentioned as an antidote against aristo-federal poison; well knowing, that if the stocks should depreciate, they will bring it as a proof of the mismanagement of our republico-federal administration, when the fact may be the very reverse.

It was intended, to go at large into the use and abuse of paper money; and the enormous privileges conferred on banks: but as this subject would surpass the bounds of the present number, it must be reserved for another opportunity.

F I N I S.



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THE  
Rush-Light.

30th APRIL, 1800.

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BY PETER PORCUPINE.

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NEW-YORK :

Published by WILLIAM COBBETT, No. 141, Water-street:

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